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27 March 1981

# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1863



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## CZECHOSLOVAKIA

### SURVEY OF CPCZ CONGRESSES SINCE WORLD WAR II

Prague NOVA MYSL in Czech Special Issue Feb 81 pp 124-129

[Excerpt] The Eighth CPCZ Congress was held in the Lucerna Hall in Prague-Nove Mesto 28-31 March 1946. It was attended by 1,038 full delegates and 128 alternate delegates; also present were delegations of 12 communist and workers parties from European countries. In mid-March 1946 the CPCZ had 1,159,164 members.

The congress evaluated the role played by the CPCZ during the national-liberation struggle against Nazi occupation and the results of the party's work in strengthening the people's democratic republic. Under the slogan "To enlarge and strengthen the power of the working class in Czechoslovakia," the congress adopted a strategical-technical policy for the transformation of the national and democratic revolution into a socialist revolution. The congress also adopted the new by-laws.

The Ninth CPCZ Congress was held in the Industrial Palace in Prague-Holesovice 25-29 May 1949. It was attended by 2,068 full delegates and 278 alternate delegates; in addition present were 31 delegations of communist and workers parties from socialist and capitalist countries.

In May 1949 the CPCZ had 2,311,066 members and candidates.

The Ninth CPCZ Congress adopted a general policy for building socialism in Czechoslovakia. This policy of building the foundations of socialism in our country was summarized in ten points in a report delivered by Klement Gottwald. The main emphasis was on building the material-technical base of socialism through the realization of the First Five-Year Plan. Its goals was the construction and reconstruction of industry, the socialist transformation of the countryside, and the improvement in the standard of living of the working people. Great attention was paid to the questions of the socialist cultural revolution. Close alliance with the USSR was the basis of our foreign policy orientation. Our basic goal was to build an ideologically united and organizationally strong and viable party and to apply its leading role in all spheres of social life. The congress adopted the new by-laws.

The Tenth CPCZ Congress was held in the Industrial Palace in Prague-Holesovice 11-15 June 1954. It was attended by 1,393 full delegates and 117 alternate

delegates and by 32 delegations of communist and workers parties from socialist and capitalist countries. In June 1954 the CPCZ had 1,489,234 members and candidates.

The congress evaluated the results of the First Five-Year Plan and confirmed the correctness of the general policy laid down at the Ninth CPCZ Congress and made this policy more specific. It adopted a program of economic measures whose purpose was to eliminate imbalances in the national economy and laid down the tasks for a substantial increase in agricultural production and for the adoption of socialist forms in the villages. It emphasized the need for a struggle against hostile ideologies and stressed the necessity for improved intraparty democracy through a collective leadership of all party organs.

The Eleventh CPCZ Congress was held in the Industrial Palace in Prague-Holesovice 18-21 June 1958. It was attended by 1,327 voting delegates and 98 alternate delegates; in addition, present were 53 delegations of communist and workers parties from socialist, capitalist and developing countries. In January 1958 the CPCZ had 1,422,199 members and candidates.

The congress evaluated the results achieved in building socialism and concluded that Czechoslovakia basically succeeded in eliminating exploitation of man by man. The completion of building socialism in Czechoslovakia was adopted as the main priority. The congress also stressed the significance of a continuous growth of the leading and organizational role of the party and of a broader acceptance of Leninist principles and norms advocated by the party.

The Twelfth CPCZ Congress was held in the Congress Palace in Prague-Holesovice 4-8 December 1962. It was attended by 1,568 voting delegates and 94 alternate delegates and 68 delegations of fraternal communist and workers parties from socialist, capitalist and developing countries. In October 1962 the CPCZ had 1,680,819 members and candidates.

The congress discussed the reasons for the difficulties in the national economy and the ways out. It laid down the main directions for a multifaceted development of a socialist society. It approved the new party statutes. It spelled out its full support for a peace effort of the Soviet Union and offered a full backing for the efforts to strengthen the unity of the international communist movement. It emphasized the significance of the ideological work of the party.

The Thirteenth CPCZ Congress was held in the Congress Palace in Prague-Holesovice 31 May - 4 June 1966. It was attended by 1,477 voting delegates and 53 alternate delegates and 77 delegations of fraternal communist and workers parties, and other progressive parties from socialist, capitalist and developing countries. In January 1966 the CPCZ had 1,698,002 members.

The congress adopted a document entitled "For further multifaceted development of our socialist society." It made more specific the resolutions adopted by the CPCZ Central Committee concerning the new system of management of the national economy and approved a series of resolutions concerning the party's agricultural policy, the position and role of the national committees, problems

of the international communist movement, and the pressing tasks of further development of socialist culture. It also amended the party statutes.

The Fourteenth CPCZ Congress was held in the Congress Palace in Prague-Holesovice 25-29 May 1971. It was attended by 1,195 voting delegates and 115 alternates, 77 delegations of fraternal communist and workers, national democratic and progressive parties, and a delegation of the editorial board of Problems of Peace and Socialism. In January 1971 the CPCZ had 1,194,191 members.

The congress declared the crisis period ended. It discussed a report on the party's activities and the development of society since the Thirteenth Congress and on further tasks of the party, including the main directions of the economic policy for the 1971-1975 period. It approved the political line the Central Committee had pursued since April 1969 which had guided the party toward overcoming the crisis period and toward the revival of the Marxist-Leninist character of the party. It approved the documents adopted at the December 1970 plenum of the Central Committee, namely, the "Lesson from the crisis development in the party and society in the period following the 13th CPCZ Congress" and the "Resolution concerning the pressing questions of party unity." It also approved partial changes in the party statutes. The resolutions adopted by the congress spelled out a program for building a developed socialist society in Czechoslovakia.

The Fifteenth CPCZ Congress was held in the Congress Palace in Prague-Holesovice 12-16 April 1976. It was attended by 1,215 voting delegates and 33 alternates and 88 delegations of fraternal communist and workers, national democratic and progressive parties. In January 1976 the CPCZ had 1,381,090 members and candidates.

The congress approved the "Report on party activity and the development of society since the 14th CPCZ Congress and on future tasks of the party" and the "Directives for economic and social development in the CSSR during the 1976-1980 period." It gave a more concrete character to the program for further building of a developed socialist society in the area of economic and social policy of the party, the development of a socialist state and the entire political system of society, and the improvement of the party's internal life and its leading role in international relations. At its closing session the congress approved an appeal entitled "For solidarity with fighters against imperialism, fascism and reaction."

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MILITARY EFFECTIVENESS OF U.S. CHEMICAL IRRITANTS ANALYZED

East Berlin ZEITSCHRIFT FÜR MILITÄRMEDIZIN in German Vol 21 No 6, Dec 80  
pp272-276 manuscript received 26 Jul 79

[Article by Maj G. Dressler, MD, medical officer: "On the Military Medical Evaluation of the Chemical Warfare (CW) Agent Group--Irritants"]

[Text] Summary

Animal experiments, epidemiological and clinical data in the literature on the toxicity of the CW warfare agent group, irritants, were critically examined. The relatively minor toxicity found in animal experiments is contradicted by immediate and long-term damage found in operational use in combat, police actions and in self-protection. Toxicological and operational problems of increased toxicity of irritants are discussed.

Irritants must be considered a permanent hazard for soldiers and the civilian population in peace and war, being a special group of CW agents as used operationally by armed forces and police of the imperialist nations.

Since their initial use in World War I, this group of agents has been steadily improved and has increasingly been used in armed conflicts, e.g., in Vietnam<sup>12-14</sup> and in police actions against demonstrators.<sup>18,20</sup>

The purpose of this paper is to discuss the so-called harmlessness of these agents from the toxicological and pathophysiological standpoint. In these evaluations, the following irritants were considered to be most significant at this time: 1-Chloracetophenone (CN), Chlorbenzylidenmalonitril (CS) and Dibenz (b,f) - 1,4 oxazepin (CR).

Irritants are standard equipment of imperialist armies and, for the purpose of riot control, are also in use by the police forces of those nations. In some Western countries, they can be purchased over the counter as self-protection agents.

As a rule, irritants are classified according to the body organs primarily affected by them (Figure 1). Depending on concentration and effect, their lines of effect demarcation are quite vague. Changes in effect can also be obtained by modifying the method of application.

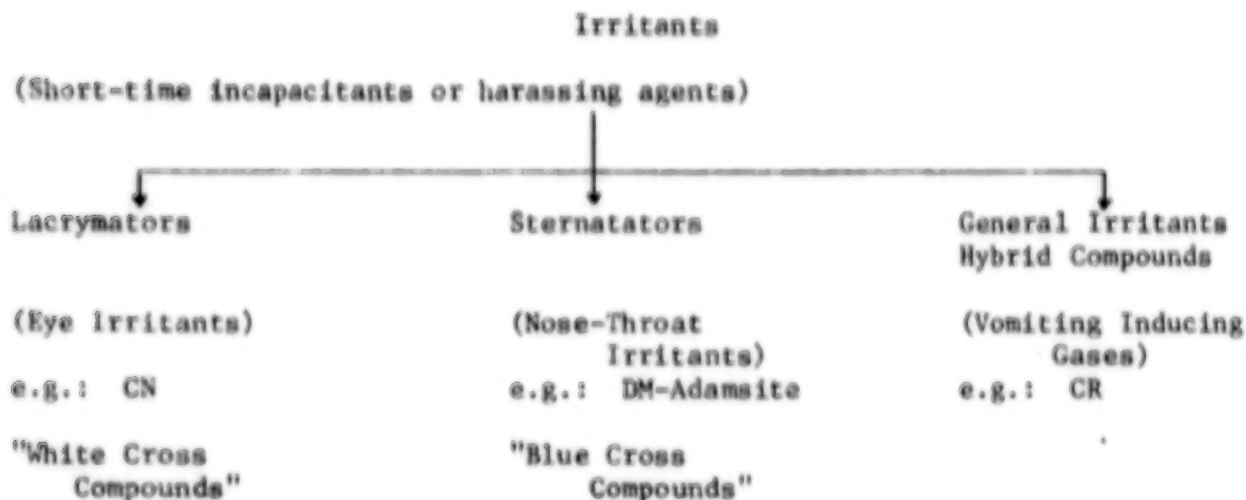


Figure 1. Categories of Irritants

In a description of police weapons<sup>18</sup> in imperialist nations, a tabulation of irritants was published which is excerpted and modified in Table 1.

Data on toxicological parameters are essentially identical with those in the rest of the literature (e.g.,<sup>1,2,11</sup>).

All irritants have the following characteristics in common:

--in small dosages, they lead to major effects, involving temporary inability to fight or act;

--with short latency, they cause relatively short-lasting effects;

--there is a large difference between their lethal and disabling concentration ( $10^3$ -  $10^6$ ).

Despite their moderate toxicity, publications reported about deaths or delayed morbidity<sup>8,10,13,11,15,16,20</sup> soon after the introduction of certain weapon systems (e.g., the "chemical Mace" or the M 106 Mity Mite disperser) in the U.S. Army and increased use of irritants in armed conflict or in police actions. Among others, Neillands<sup>13</sup> reports that blowing CS into tunnels and bunkers with the M 106 during the war against the Vietnamese people caused a number of deaths by asphyxia and lung edema. Other reports deal with deaths by overdoses of CR outdoors.<sup>11</sup>



Table 1. Data for a Group of Selected Irritant Agents (modified from Stammel, 18).

Toxicity data was taken as required for this purpose from the original publication. Classification as to commonly used parameters such as LD<sub>50</sub> or LD<sub>100</sub> would only be conditionally possible

Irritant/ agent formula	Code Designation	"Harmless" Dose	Intolerable Dose	Lethal dose	Remarks
Acrolein <chem>CH2=CHCHO</chem>	PAPITE		Harmful to health even in small con- centration	35 mg/m <sup>3</sup>	No longer used
Aethylbromacetat <chem>CH3BrCOOC2H5</chem>	EBA	0.3 mg/m <sup>3</sup>	0.4 mg/m	2.3 mg/m	Contained in 3 mg/m air concentration at 75 per- cent in the Lake Erie mixture LIND-82
Aethyljodacetat <chem>CH3JCOOC2H5</chem>		0.14 mg/m <sup>3</sup>	1.5 mg/m <sup>3</sup>	150 mg/m <sup>3</sup>	No longer used
Bromacetone <chem>CH3COCH2Br</chem>	BA	0.15 mg/m <sup>3</sup>	1.0 mg/m <sup>3</sup>	320 mg/m <sup>3</sup>	Contained at 80 percent with 20 percent chloro- acetone in MARTONITE
Brombenzylcyanid <chem>C6H5CH2BrCN</chem>	CA oder BEC	0.015 mg/m <sup>3</sup>	0.08 mg/m <sup>3</sup>	90 mg/m <sup>3</sup>	Most powerful French and British teargas
Benzylbromid <chem>C6H5CH2Br</chem>		6.0 mg/m <sup>3</sup>	41.0 mg/m <sup>3</sup>	450 mg/m <sup>3</sup>	Corrodes iron alloys No longer used
Benzyljodid <chem>C6H5CH2J</chem>	JODOTOLUENE	0.2 mg/m <sup>3</sup>	3.0 mg/m <sup>3</sup>	5.0 mg/m <sup>3</sup>	No longer used
Brommethyl- ethylketon <chem>BrCH2COCH2CH3</chem>		1.26 mg/m <sup>3</sup>	1.6 mg/m	200 mg/m	Contained at 80 percent with 20 percent chloro- ethylmethylketone in bromMARTONITE
Chloracetone <chem>CH3COCH2Cl</chem>	TONITE	1.8 mg/m <sup>3</sup>	10.0 mg/m <sup>3</sup>	230 mg/m <sup>3</sup>	No longer used
Chloracetophenon <chem>C6H5COCH2Cl</chem>	CN	0.03 mg/m <sup>3</sup>	0.45 mg/m <sup>3</sup>	1100 mg/m <sup>3</sup>	Most common used tear- gas, health hazard above 85 mg/m
Mixtures with CN-Irritants (percent)					
CNB(a)=12 CN 45 Kohlenstoff- tetrachlorid 45 Benzol					Standard U.S. Army mixture
CNB(b) 30 CN 70 Chloroform					
CND 18 CN 82 Athylendichlorid					Not to be used; toxic damage to kidney, liver, lungs
CNS 23.0 CN 38.4 Chloroform 38.4 Chlorpikrin					Long-term effect, therefore not used in civil riot control
Diphenylamin- chlorarsin <chem>HN(C6H5)2AsCl</chem>	DM or ADAMSITE	0.038 mg/m <sup>3</sup> causes dis- comfort harmless	0.05 mg/m <sup>3</sup> severe within 30 minutes symptomatic 30 mg/m <sup>3</sup> effect within 10 minutes	ab 65 mg/m <sup>3</sup>	Used in U.S.A. as so-called "hard riot gas"
Diphenylchlor- arsin <chem>(C6H5)2AsCl</chem>	DA	0.05 mg/m <sup>3</sup>	0.12 mg/m <sup>3</sup> severe within 30 minutes symptomatic 150 mg/m <sup>3</sup> effect within 10 minutes	ab 60 mg/m <sup>3</sup>	Substitute for DM
Diphenyl- cyanarsin <chem>(C6H5)2AsCN</chem>	DC	ab 0.01 mg/m <sup>3</sup> causes discomfort harmless	0.025 mg/m <sup>3</sup> severe within 10 minutes symptomatic effect	100 mg/m <sup>3</sup>	Intended for military use in the U.S.A.
Orthochlor- benzoinmalonitril <chem>ClC6H4CNC(CN)2</chem>	CS	0.01-0.05 mg/m <sup>3</sup> teargas effect 0.12-0.2 mg/m <sup>3</sup> Nausea		100-300 mg/m within 20-30 minutes	So-called "super riot gas"

The following is a list of circumstances under which serious hazards and delayed morbidity must be counted upon when the CW agent group, Irritants, is used:

- lack of individual protection in case of high concentrations;
- long-term exposure (unavoidably remaining in the exposure area of impossibility of escape due to injury);
- high local concentration near the eyes or on the skin;
- repeated exposure with potential mutagenic, carcinogenic or teratogenic effects.

Hazards can also be caused by virtue of technical operational use problems:

- creation of phosgene and carbonyl chloride compounds when using compressed air as a propellant or chloroform as a solvent<sup>18</sup>;
- entering "safe" field concentrations in military use, as for instance when the M 106 disperser is employed.<sup>13</sup>

Instructions for use are supposed to take the potential hazards into account. For instance, the following instructions were promulgated for the FRG's North Rhine-Westphalia police forces:

- do not use on targets at a distance of less than 2 meters;
- do not use for more than 1 second;
- do not use in unventilated rooms;
- treat casualties immediately after use.<sup>20</sup>

The same reference cites the dubious value of such safety instructions:

After a police intervention with tear gas (CN) against antinuclear demonstrators in Brokdorf (FRG) 26 casualties required treatment by physicians.

Apart from the primary effects of irritants, an additional aspect of damage must be considered: the triggering of secondary effects. These consist of the following:

- panic due to psychological effects;
- triggering of psychosomatic effects;
- retrospective reaction on premorbid or morbid conditions (e.g., exacerbation of asthma-related disease types or chronic bronchitis).

Additionally, the triggering of hypersensitivity after the initial exposure must also be considered.<sup>9</sup>

The available literature<sup>3,4,6,7,12</sup> cites three particular irritants for self-protection and for military and police use in the imperialist nations:

- Chloracetophenone (code designation: CN);
- Chlorbenzylidenmalonitril (code: CS);
- Dibenz (b,f)-1,4-oxazepin (code: CR).

Chloracetophenone (CN), the so-called "classic" tear gas,<sup>13</sup> is today used predominantly in police and self-protection agents in the West. Higher concentrations lead to dermatitis and chemical burns. Especially in closeup firing and high concentrations, severe eye damage is caused. The corrosive effect is probably caused by the chloric acid being formed.<sup>10</sup> The corrosive effect is said to be found especially when micropulverized CN is used, as is the case in self-protection weapons (tear-gas pen guns).<sup>4</sup>

According to the literature<sup>3-5</sup> eye and skin damage by CN is considerably greater than from CS and CR. The same relationship exists with respect to inhalative toxicity.

CN is chemically stable and slow to react. It is used in pyrotechnic compounds, aerosols or in solution. CN is the effective component of chemical Mace. In triggering a 1-second spray, 2.5 grams of the compound, containing about 25 mg of CN, are discharged. The effect is immediate and is said to be of 25-40 minutes' duration.

Local effect is increased by the addition of a kerosene-type hydrocarbon mixture which produces a film of CN solution. Methylchloroform is used as a solvent, among others. Inhalation of methylchloroform vapor results in apathy.<sup>16</sup>

#### Chlorbenzylidenmalonitril (CS)

This is today the most significant tear gas in use by imperialist police and army personnel (the so-called super riot gas<sup>18</sup>). Since CS has lacrimatory as well as sternutatory properties, it is counted among the hybrid irritants. In higher concentrations, it can cause second-degree chemical burns which are said to cause inability to fight or work for at least 10 days.<sup>7</sup> CS causes primary effects upon the eye and the respiratory tract; in combination with skin moisture, it produces skin effects. Toxicity to the skin is less than that of CN. A special toxic effect is ascribed to the cyanogen groups of the radical.<sup>3</sup> Effects are slightly delayed (20-60 seconds). Modification of CS to micropulverized CS-1 causes irritation of the lower respiratory tract (sternutatory effect, pulmonary edema). A silicone additive to CS-1 creates the modification CS-2, which causes more extended disability. Its effects may last as long as 45 days.<sup>17</sup> Harmful effects on the eyes increase in equal concentrations in the use of CS fogs, powders and solutions.<sup>5</sup> Sensitizing effects are repeatedly described.<sup>7,15,17</sup> It is considered possible that harmful and lethal effects of CS are provoked by inhibiting several enzyme systems (primarily pyruvate dehydrogenase). Pain and cardiopulmonary disturbances after intravenous application of CS are said to be caused by stimulating Bradykinin activity.<sup>7</sup>

#### Dibenz (b,f)-1,4-oxazepin (CR)

CR is a general irritant. Eye effects commence immediately and last 2-5 minutes (light sensitivity may persist up to 24 hours). Because of its low toxicity and the combination of varied irritant effects it is considered an effective riot-control agent.



The threshold concentration for lacrimatory effects in animal experiments was shown to be 0.01 to 0.1 percent CR, compared with 1 percent for CN.<sup>6</sup> CR is much less toxic than CN and CS.

CR can be used unadulterated as an aerosol, in aqueous solution or as a fog. In equal doses, the irritant effect of CR in solution is greater than that of an aerosol or fog.<sup>4,6</sup> The ratio of skin damaging activity of CS to CR is 1:20. The following secondary psychosomatic effects were observed<sup>6</sup>: lowering of the heart rate (up to 25 percent), elevation of systolic and diastolic blood pressure, respiratory distress and hysteric reactions.

All three agents have the identical effect principle in common. The "irritation" effect, which is triggered by the organism's reflex response, includes lacrimation, chest pain, vomiting and pains. Depending upon the contacted body tissues and the dose the following various irritant responses are provoked, as for instance under "normal field conditions":

- a predominantly lacrimatory effect if the unprotected eye is principally affected;

- a predominantly sternutatory effect from exposure of the nasal mucous membrane and upper respiratory tract (particle diameter greater than 0.5  $\mu\text{m}$ );

- a predominantly sternutatory painful effect with danger of occurrence of pulmonary edema (particle diameter smaller than 0.3-0.5  $\mu\text{m}$ ).

The various irritation responses and mechanisms of intoxication, relative to method of administration, are shown in Table 2.

The pathophysiological effect mechanism of irritant agents is not fully understood in all details. The following, partly complementary or potentiating effect factors are under discussion:

- irritation of sensitive nerve ends (CR is said to be effective as a result of producing irritation of specific demyelinated nerve fiber segments of the skin<sup>6</sup>;

- inhibition of enzymes containing the sulfhydryl groups;

- neurotropic effects which, among other things, are blamed for ophthalmological aftereffects in use of CS and CN;

- systemic effects (unsteady walk, vertigo, muscular tics, cramps, cardiopulmonary effects due to increased Bradykinin elimination in intravenous administration of CS<sup>7</sup>;

- cellular poisoning effect; chemical burn effect;

- triggering of allergic reactions;

- specific effects of radicals (e.g., the cyanogen group of CS);

- alkylating effects with danger of delayed effects of a mutagenic, teratogenic or carcinogenic nature.

Table 2. Intoxication Mechanisms of Irritant Agents CN, CS, CR. Compiled From the Literature on Animal Experimentation<sup>1,2,3</sup>

Method of Administration LD <sub>50</sub> , L(ict) <sub>50</sub>	Primarily attacks	Intoxication mechanism/symptoms
<b>Intravenously</b>		
LD <sub>50</sub> : Rat (female) CN 41 (36-49) mg/kg CS 28 (25-30) mg/kg CR	Central nervous system	Alkylating effect on nucleophile compounds, enzyme inhibition; tremors, cramps, unco- ordinated motions, cyanosis, coma; cardiopul- monary effects caused by Bradykinin release in CS
<b>Intraperitoneally</b>		
LD <sub>50</sub> : Rat (male) CN 36 (26-47) mg/kg CS 48 (43-54) mg/kg	Peritoneum	Peritoneal irritations, intestinal bleeding, irregular breathing, coma, lowered rectal temperature, shock, specific cyanogen effect of the Malonitril radical of CS
<b>By Mouth</b>		
LD <sub>50</sub> : Rat (male) CN 127 (113-144) mg/kg CS 1366 (1184-1779) mg/kg CR 7200 ± 2500 mg/kg	Stomach- intestinal tract	Latency period 15-20 min, lowered muscle tone, respiratory disturbances, coma, intestinal hemorrhagic erosions and necroses, fluid balance disturbances, shock
<b>By Inhalation</b>		
L(ict) <sub>50</sub> : Rat (male) CN 8,750 (6,170-10,810) CS 88,480 (77,370-98,520) CR in mg x min/m <sup>3</sup>	Respiratory tract area, depending on particle size	Hemorrhages and edematous swelling of lung tissue, excessive bronchial secretions, pul- monary edema, blood effusion of interio- organs, secondary hypoxic damage
<b>Cutaneous</b>		
		Erythema, edema, desquamation (few toxic skin symptoms in CS; no desquamation seen in CS), skin necroses

In evaluating the pathophysiological effects of irritant agents, there are differences between the results of laboratory animal experiments and their interpretations<sup>3-5</sup> and the clinical and epidemiological evaluations of human patients who had been exposed to the effects of irritants.<sup>8,10,15</sup>

It has been found that the percentage of severe injuries and delayed effects, especially as a consequence of offensive use techniques and deployment strategies, are higher than one would be led to expect on the basis of toxicological laboratory experiments. This assumption is justified even in the absence of exact data on irritant agent concentrations in the combat zone or other employment situation. The deciding factor is probably the fact that harassing concentrations determined for safe quantities of a weapon system by animal experimentation are exceeded in the practical employment of such weapon systems.

The following reasons are given therefor:

- high local concentrations reached in close-range firing (especially in the eye area)<sup>10</sup>;
- long exposure times due to contamination of large areas;
- obtaining a heavy general concentration by use of fog dispensers in shelters and unventilated rooms;
- increased reabsorption through special modification of irritant agents (e.g., CS-1);
- multiple exposures.

These causes are essentially identical with the factors discussed earlier which serve to cast doubt upon a sweeping declaration that the CW agent group, irritants, is not dangerous.

For instance, Buratowski and his colleagues<sup>6</sup> found the following effects in all Vietnam casualties who had been exposed at least twice to the effects of CS, CS-1, CS-2, CN, CNB, DM, BAE or BZ, in various degrees:

- a reduction in peripheral vision;
- decreased ability for dark adaptation;
- corneal scarring;
- degenerative changes of the eye fundus.

Without giving specific details, Neillands<sup>13</sup> reports that in using the Mity Mite dispenser in tunnels and bunkers, the U.S. armed forces in Vietnam caused a number of deaths by asphyxia and pulmonary edema, and that in this manner of use the effectiveness of conventional weapons was obtained with an increased death rate.

Hoffmann<sup>10</sup> described 45 cases of his own and the literature about ophthalmological tear-gas burns. His own cases dealt with injuries resulting from self-protection use. The patients' hospitalization ranged from 7 to 69.3 days. In 34 out of the 45 patients, corneal cloudiness remained (8 leukomas, 11 maculas and 15 nubes).

A critical survey of the literature on the effects of the CW agent group, irritants, discloses the contradiction between low toxicity, mainly shown in animal experimentation, which has been used as a basis for stating that weapon systems containing irritants pose no danger, and actual injuries and delayed effects which have occurred in military and police actions and in self-protection. From the military medical standpoint, we find a necessity for becoming familiar with the damage profile in view of the aggressive imperialist forces' undisguised intentions for continued use of these CW agents. It is of equal importance that efforts by the United States and other imperialist nations<sup>1</sup> for the further development of this CW agent group be carefully monitored.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Authors' Collective: Textbook of Military Chemistry. Berlin: GDR Militaerverlag 1977, 2d ed, vol 1, pp 135-197.
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9273

CSO: 2300

GROUND FORCES COMMANDER JUSTIFIED INTENSIVE MILITARY EXERCISES

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 14-15 Feb 81 p 13

['Military Policy' feature article by Col Gen Horst Stechbarth, deputy minister for national defense; commander of ground forces: "Consciously Acting Soldiers Fulfill the Class Mission")

[Text] Our author was born in 1925, the son of a small farmer. On 1 March 1949, he entered the service, became squad leader, platoon leader and company commander. Later he became regiment and division commander and head of the Neubrandenburg military Bezirk. He graduated from the Soviet general staff academy and in 1972 became deputy minister of defense and chief of the ground forces. In 1951, he joined the SED. Since 1978, General Stechbarth has been a member of the Central Committee. He has been honored as "Meritorious NVA Member."

In the spring of 1956, the first division and the first regiment received the troop flag from the hand of the then minister of national defense, Col Gen Willi Stoph. Today's Hans-Beimler Regiment was the newly formed NVA's first regiment to pledge alliance to the GDR.

Two and a half decades have passed since the founding of the NVA following the 18 January 1956 decision by the People's chamber. In this historically short time-span, the ground forces has developed into a modern, effective and strong force, just as had been planned.

If we make a comparison today to the first years, it becomes clear that all branches (motorized infantry, tank, artillery and rocket troops, airborne troops, antiaircraft units), special troops (e.g. combat engineers, communication and chemical troops) and services (e.g. rear support) have changed completely.

Modern Weapons Are Becoming More Complex

There is nothing about today's motorized infantry which reminds one of the traditional infantry in which a soldier could get by with very few technical skills. The rifle has been replaced by automatic small arms, armor-piercing weapons have been added to the arms of the motorized infantry. Motorized infantry troops are completely mechanized today. Amphibious, armored, all-terrain combat vehicles, equipped with cannons and guided antitank rockets, can be deployed quickly and effectively.



The T-34, which the tank troops used during the first years, has been replaced gradually by the latest Soviet tanks, which have more advanced properties. Gyroscopically stabilized cannons with automated distance-measuring and sight devices have considerably increased the effectiveness of the tanks, which can also be converted for underwater driving with a few manual changes. In addition to the much improved artillery, such as self-propelled howitzers, there are now tactical and strategic missiles.

The antiaircraft units, the most recently formed branch of the ground forces, was equipped at first with antiaircraft machineguns and antiaircraft cannons. Over the years they received missile systems, and now mobile weapons with electronic fire-guidance systems, which enable them to successfully engage various aerial targets. Based on their excellent training and their mastery of modern arms and combat technology, antiaircraft units, together with our national air defense, secure our air space.

Since the NVA was from the very beginning conceived and built up as a modern socialist army, even in the first years it corresponded essentially to the tendencies of the military revolution which began in the 1930's. Thanks to the fraternal help by the Soviet Union, our NVA ground forces were equipped as well as the other fraternal armies as early as 1956. When forming the NVA's motorized infantry divisions, important knowledge of Soviet military science regarding organization and structure had been taken into account. The NVA used experiences of the Soviet Army, which had replaced its mechanized and infantry divisions with modern motorized infantry divisions.

After the Eight SED Congress in 1971, a new phase in the development of the NVA, and thus of the ground forces, began. One of its essential characteristics is the growing demands made on personnel as a result of the large-scale introduction of complex weapons and automated guidance systems, of the ever-increasing number of electronic components used in weapons and devices. The role of small military collectives continues to increase because of the increasing complexity of modern weapons and weapons systems. Smooth cooperation within squads, crews and troops depends on the fact that everyone has mastered his function to perfection and, if necessary, can substitute for his comrade. The physical and psychological demands placed on the individual fighter would also be higher.

#### Great Responsibility for Commanders

Commanders play a decisive role in the struggle for a high degree of combat strength and combat readiness. Marshall Konev once wrote that the regiment commander "is the most important person in the army in peacetime, and the main battle organizer in wartime. There is no more versatile commander than he."

The commander of a motorized infantry regiment, for example, has under him units of all branches, special troops and services represented in the ground forces. He bears sole responsibility for their political and military training. Regiment commanders are tried cadre, devoted to the party of the working class and to the people of the GDR. They have gained a solid military and theoretical education at the Friedrich Engels Academy or a Soviet academy which, in addition to their troop practice, enables them to lead their regiments successfully under all conditions.

The successful 25-year development of our branch confirms that people, above all, with their conscious actions, their great political and military knowledge, their ability and their discipline, forge the combat strength of divisions, regiments and companies. Educated and guided by the SED, soldiers strive for high achievements in socialist competition during training.

Soldiers and civilian employees participated in a manifold commitment movement, consisting mainly of the individual and collective struggle for the title of highest achiever in our nation's greatest mass initiative to date, in preparation for the 10th SED Congress. They put special effort into surpassing norms in combat training. Since the increase in military knowledge and skills and the greater control over modern arms and equipment which are required in the 1980's must be reached in the same training time as in the past, greater intensity in combat training is a main concern of the competition.

#### Maneuvers--Schools for Comradeship-in-Arms

Important is the initiative, 'Hit with the First Shot (i.e., the first rocket or the first grenade)', which had been called by the FDJ organizations of the ground forces. If one keeps in mind that, for example, in only 30 seconds, a modern tank can cover 300 to 500 m, a supersonic aircraft even 16 to 21 km, then it becomes apparent that this competition initiative directs itself especially to the current demands for a high degree of combat strength and combat readiness.

The fundamental knowledge gained in our socialist educational system and experience gained in socialist production, enable the majority of draftees to learn the operation of complex weapons systems quickly. Knowledge gained in the GST's [Society for Sport and Technology] premilitary basic and career training are practically achievements which make it possible for them to continue immediately with combat or special training after only a short basic training. All licensed military drivers of the ground forces, for example, have, without exception, received their license during GST career training.

The ground forces' 25-year history is closely tied to the growth and maturing of the close comradeship-in-arms with the ground forces of the Soviet Army and the other socialist fraternal armies. During all phases of development, the helping hand of our Soviet comrades could be felt and confident cooperation developed. Only 1 year after the first divisions of the ground forces were formed, the first joint maneuvers with the Soviet strike forces in Germany took place in the summer of 1957. Numerous other joint exercises and maneuvers solidified the basis of cooperation on the battlefield and became schools for socialist comradeship-in-arms. The most important maneuvers were: "Quartet 63," "October Storm 65," "Comradeship-in-Arms 70," or "Comradeship-in-Arms 80."

Today, every division of our branch maintains close and friendly relations to the division of Soviet forces stationed in Germany. They do outstanding work in internationalistic education of soldiers, mainly in joint military training. When comparing achievements and experiences, while doing political work or attending cultural functions and sports events, comradeship-in-arms becomes a personal experience for the soldiers.



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#### **Revolutionary Alertness Always**

The NVA's demand for combat strength and combat readiness increases in view of the intensified military political situation from aggressive circles of imperialism, the arms race pursued by them, and their new major political attack on socialism. NATO soldiers, equipped with modern arms and indoctrinated with anticommunist propaganda, stand ready for deployment on FRG territory. NATO nations, above all the United States and the FRG, are realizing the long-term program of the imperialist military pact with their unequalled step-up in armament.

For that reason, there must be no slowdowns or half efforts in our defense efforts. On the eve of the 10th SED Congress we, the soldiers of the worker and peasant power, confirmed our resolution to always fulfill the military class mission in honor. Thus, we contribute to the realization of the party's policy, which is for the people's welfare and the protection of peace. This corresponds to a basic concern of our policy which was formulated by Erich Honecker, secretary general of the SED Central Committee, in his important Gera speech: We must always practice revolutionary alertness and guarantee the defense capacity of our republic in the socialist defense coalition at the necessary level.

9328

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

GREATER EFFORTS URGED TO INCREASE COMBAT READINESS

East Berlin MILITAERTECHNIK in German No 1, 1981 signed to press 14 Nov 80 pp 1-3

[Article by Col Gen W. Reinhold, deputy defense minister and chief, Air Forces and Air Defense Command: "On the 25th Anniversary of the Founding of the National People's Army (NVA): The Members of the NVA Air Forces/Air Defense Command Make their Contribution for Great Combat Power and Combat Readiness on the Side of Their Comrades-in-Arms"]

[Text] On 1 March 1981, members of the NVA and GDR citizens will proudly celebrate the 25th anniversary of the founding of their army.

Our NVA has developed into a modern, combat-ready army in those two and one-half decades. It is a reliable military instrument of power of the GDR working class, as well as a respected, reliable and equal partner and comrade-in-arms of the Warsaw Pact defense coalition. In solid comradeship-in-arms with the Soviet Army and the other fraternal armies, it honorably fulfills its military class mission for the protection of socialism and of peace.

Constant, consistent and intelligent leadership by the SED forms the basis of this successful NVA development. Our party, with its military policy aimed at securing of peace and the reliable protection of socialism, has always paid the necessary attention to the development of trained socialist military cadres and to modern armament and equipment of the NVA. It took into account Lenin's doctrine, that "the best army, men most dedicated to the cause of revolution, are destroyed instantly by the enemy, if they are not sufficiently armed, equipped and trained." (Lenin, W. I.: On a Realistic Basis. In: WORKS, Vol 21, Berlin 1960, p 61)

The GDR fulfills its missions within the Warsaw Pact alliance at a strategically important combat sector in the community of socialist fraternal nations. At the line of confrontation between both world systems, and as the prime target of a possible aggression by NATO forces, it remains absolutely necessary to achieve a standard of education, training, armament and equipment which guarantees the army's combat readiness in accordance with the demands of modern war. In every phase of our army's development, we were able to build on the all-encompassing fraternal help by the Soviet Union and the Soviet Army. The Soviet Army and the Soviet people have borne the main burden in the destruction of fascism. Our people have received freedom and peace as precious and defenseworthy gifts from the hands of Soviet soldiers.

If, on the occasion of the NVA's 25th anniversary, one thinks back today to the beginning of our development, to the complex conditions and innumerable difficulties which were overcome, it becomes ever more clear how much it means to have loyal friends and advisors, communists and comrades-in-arms at one's side. The history of the air force/air defense, as well as the history of all individual armed forces and branches of the NVA, proves this in many ways. Many young men came from the ranks of the working class party and of the Free German Youth group, with no or little military qualification and experience, in order to do justice to their patriotic and internationalistic responsibility in the armed forces, in their hatred of fascism and war. They were trained and led by comrades who had gained experience as communists and internationalists in the class struggles against fascism and reaction.

From a historical perspective, 25 years is surely a short time span. But it merits retrospection from today's point of view.

The development of a modern air force/air defense in the GDR was complicated under these conditions. Patiently, and with great sensitivity, instructors of the Soviet Army taught us basic flight and technical skills in Soviet trainers, the Yak 18 and, a little later, the Yak 11, which was already armed. They met us with trust and friendship and shared with us their military knowledge and skills. Thus, many have benefited from this great source of strength to fulfill the mission of the party and the working class.

The increased combat strength which the air force/air defense experienced after the introduction of efficient Soviet jets, placed high demands on the class consciousness, military skills and concrete knowledge of commanders, political officers, staff officers, pilots, technicians and ground crew. Those were the Soviet MiG 15 and MiG 17 tactical aircraft which have already become legendary. They reached speeds of between 1,050 and 1,145 km/hr. They could fulfill combat missions at maximum altitudes of 15,000 to 16,600 meters and were armed with cannons. They had a range of up to 2,200 km. Those were planes of a new generation, planes which, like all Soviet-made planes, met the highest requirements of their time in terms of maneuverability and carrying capacity, and which our pilots liked to fly.

The scientific and technical revolution had its effect on the military. In a very short time, changes took place which placed new and increased demands on military specialists in all fields. A climax was reached at the end of the 1950's with the introduction of the MiG 19, the first supersonic reconnaissance planes. They reached speeds of 1,400 km/hr, a maximum altitude of approximately 20,000 meters, and were equipped with traditional cannons as well as guided and nonguided missiles.

Our party and government has at all times taken the measures that were necessary in order to guarantee--together with our comrades-in-arms, the security of the GDR and of the socialist camp for the development of socialism. When our comrades of all ranks received high recognition, based on their achievements with modern combat technology during the "Comradeship-In-Arms 80" maneuvers, then this is an expression of our development of our will and our combat readiness for the protection of socialism.

Plane and helicopter pilots, as individual fighters, can fulfill their mission only through the efforts of a large collective of specialists of all categories. They lead the efforts of many men to success by fulfilling their missions in combat training and in the watch. Their experience has great educational value. The older ones among them--I can say this from my own experience--are proud that they have been part of and have mastered this development from the Yak 18 to the most modern tactical aircraft.

The dynamic qualitative development of performance parameters and combat properties of the weapons systems and their mastery by members of the military are not limited to the air force. The anti-aircraft artillery had at the very beginning anti-aircraft cannons as well as anti-aircraft machine guns. Later, anti-aircraft rockets represented a totally new quality in the area of air defense. With their new type of combat properties, the anti-aircraft rocket troops took on a major role in air defense.

For the effective deployment of fighter bomber and anti-aircraft rocket troops and their highly developed weapons systems, the radar troops simultaneously received Soviet radar systems which met the growing demand for constant air reconnaissance and air surveillance as well as the steady and precise radar security of combat training. Great changes also took place in the areas of rear ground personnel, troop supply and repair of major arms systems.

Better and better solutions to the various problems of training, and mastery of the increasingly complex weapons and equipment, which resulted from these changes, were among the most important conditions for the fact that significant NVA forces and means could be incorporated into the uniform air defense system of the Warsaw Pact nations. From year to year, members of the air force/air defense increased their contribution to the secure defense and protection of the air space above the GDR and the allied fraternal countries.

These factual accounts are based on unparalleled efforts by innumerable commanders, political workers, all military collectives and civilian employees, the never-ending initiatives of party and FDJ organizations, as well as the union of the NVA's civilian employees.

If one remembers those decisive steps of our development, then experience, which should be utilized better now and in the future, becomes apparent. In daily military training, while mastering new arms and military technology, the fundamental finding of socialist military science--the more modern weapons and equipment are, the more man's role increases--proved itself again and again. Political, party and FDJ organizations have always let themselves be guided by this. Party organizations worked decisively to raise consciousness among members of the military, and strengthened individual leadership of commanders in their unit through political and military leadership.

The motto for education and training became the party's dictum: In the struggle against imperialist aggressors, only those can and will be victorious who know what they are fighting for, who are equipped with the appropriate weapons, have mastered them completely, and are able to use them effectively in combat. All



efforts centered again and again on instilling a great desire to achieve and to learn. Much had to be demanded and learned by each individual. At stake was the gaining of such extensive political, strategic, tactical and military-technical knowledge as would enable the quick mastery of the new combat technology in order to use it to the utmost in the interest of a maximal increase in combat strength. This demanded party loyalty, much energy and endurance, but also express interest, enthusiasm, even dedication to the cause of the working class, of socialist internationalism, military sciences and military technology.

In each phase of our development, everything depended on the proper understanding of the demands which were placed on consciousness, military knowledge and skill, anxiousness to master military technology, and on military men and military specialists for their readiness to defend their socialist homeland. Anti-aircraft rockets, tactical aircraft, military vehicles, etc., must not only be operated, guided and steered as with every other technology. They must be mastered by disciplined and combat-ready soldiers under the most extreme conditions. This required above-average physical and psychological endurance and military skills. The conditions for this were always created in time in Soviet and NVA military academies and schools. However, without the readiness to strengthen and increase the political and military skills gained during many hours of free time, neither soldier nor general would have been able to do justice to the suddenly increased demands made on knowledge and skills as a consequence of scientific and technological changes.

A part of this knowledge has always been the assessment of the imperialist class enemy, the precise knowledge of his military strategy and tactics, as well as the strengths and weaknesses of his combat technology and equipment. An offensive aerial-warfare concept continues to be an essential part of the aggressive war and confrontation strategy of the imperialist NATO pact in which the FRG has played a major part from the beginning. As early as the 1950's, the NATO's air attack capacity was increased by 20 wings of the FRG's air force with more than 1,300 aircraft. The FRG Army's equipment with F 104 G Starfighter and F 4 Phantom nuclear carriers marked important stages in NATO's advance strategy. This is continued with the introduction of 322 Tornado tactical aircraft with variable wing setting, and 175 Alpha Jet close ground support aircraft.

The FRG Air Force's prime mission, according to FRG military leaders, consists in "carrying out offensive aerial war on enemy territory and there to eliminate the enemy's air and ground forces." The second mission, air defense, must likewise be expanded to an "element of attack." More than DM 17 billion are planned until the mid-1980's for the continued realization of this concept.

These measures leave no doubt that the FRG Air Force as well as the other military branches are being even better prepared for surprise attacks as part of the NATO strategy. The 12-percent increase in reconnaissance and training flights by air forces of the FRG and other NATO nations near the FRG's borders to the GDR, Czechoslovakia and in the Baltic area are apparently serving the same purpose. These facts require a constantly high degree of combat readiness from our units and our air force/air defense, in which soldiers of all ranks have mastered modern technology to the utmost.

These observations and thoughts lead to various consequences for military theory and practice. Thorough military scientific work and a creative search for new, more effective ways and methods of education, training, operation, repair and ground-crew work are absolutely necessary. Constantly new demands are made on combat training, combat readiness, tactics, strategy and the cooperation with others. Additional considerations call for numerous military-economic aspects, such as the greatly increased cost of the technology, and the increasing cost of operation and maintenance of arms and equipment, among other things.

Members of the air force/air defense understand those correlations more and more. A broad mass initiative has developed in socialist competition in preparation for the 10th SED Congress. All effort is concentrated on reaching a maximum in military effectiveness with the technology and the material and financial means at disposal. That means that the mission of achieving the necessary combat readiness and combat strength must be reached in the shortest time possible, using only those means and materials which are absolutely necessary. This can only be done by exercising the strictest frugality in all areas. The various possibilities for this are--just to name a few--getting maximum use out of the weapons systems, using all materials economically, and increasing work productivity in the areas of maintenance and repair of weapons and equipment.

The competition initiator for the 1979/80 training year, the Buchaniec Wing, has done exemplary work in realizing these significant goals, and has thus set new standards. Numerous other collectives reached above-average achievements. When, e.g., many pilots, launch-crew and gun-crew members hit the training targets with the first rocket or with the first fire, then this is the result of strenuous training as well as efforts by military, party and FDJ collectives to eliminate obstacles and, sometimes, the wrong way of thinking and acting. This means that the good results, which meet the higher standards of the 1980's, are not simply reached automatically.

Since much of modern technology consists of an entire system, the role of the collective, of mutual, reliable cooperation and collaboration, is gaining in importance. This thought is reflected in the numerous activities of FDJ collectives. Their party congress initiative under the motto, "Everyone Strives for Mastery of his Combat Technology," has given broad momentum to the learning movement. The goal: Every collective does its best to fulfill the common combat mission. The fact that numerous aircraft and stations received the "Outstanding Quality" or "Highly Reliable Station" designation for care and maintenance through FDJ initiatives, was of great significance for combat readiness. Also movements such as "Struggle for Highest Value," "Action Combat Training," or "Every FDJ member Proves Himself an Alert, Cooperative and Disciplined Soldier" make a great contribution to increased combat strength and combat readiness of the air force/air defense. This is shown by the fulfillment of obligations by the military, which correspond to the demanding conditions of the NVA's "best."

The persistent efforts of numerous military and civilian employee collectives in the innovator movement, and in applying military-economic principles, speak of a deep understanding of SED policy which strives to safeguard peace and the people's welfare. The economic benefit of these numerous initiatives in honor of the 10th

SED Congress was increased by more than one-half in comparison to the same time span last year. If, e.g., several thousand innovative suggestions have become a reality within 1 year, and one-third of those fulfilled more than one purpose, then these figures show what significant effect the innovator movement has on the increase of combat strength and combat readiness.

Commanders and staffs are urged to create the most favorable conditions for the major work by the innovator collectives.

Members of our SED can be found in the forefront in all these initiatives. They consider the mastery, efficient use, proper care and maintenance of technology as their most important party mission. Simultaneously, they are letting themselves be guided by the fundamental experiences of our army's 25-year development, which is: The ideological strengthening in Marxism-Leninism and our party's resolutions are the most important source for high achievements, a desire to learn, reaching the highest sense of responsibility and discipline, as well as confidence in and love of socialist military technology.

Members of the air force/air defense consistently fulfill the missions resulting from party resolutions and orders of the Minister for National Defense at the side of their comrades-in-arms, to contribute to the NVA's high combat strength and combat readiness, for the protection of our socialist homeland.

9328

CSO: 2300

## GREATER CONTRIBUTIONS SEEN FROM CIVIL DEFENSE VOLUNTEERS

East Berlin PRESSE-INFORMATIONEN in German No 9, 23 Jan 81 p 2

[Article by Maj Gen Kurt Sommer, deputy director, GDR Civil Defense: "Increased Readiness To Serve in Civil Defense"]

[Text] The upcoming "Civil Defense Day" on 11 February, devoted entirely to the spirit of preparing for the Tenth SED Congress, is significant in demonstrating increased readiness to serve in Civil Defense. This is reflected in the realization of plans formulated in 1980 designed to provide protection for the population and the economy; in increased capabilities of civil defense operations and personnel for quickly implementing, at all times and under difficult circumstances, effective rescue and aid operations; and in the eagerness of GDR citizens to become familiar with personal and collective protective measures in all types of threatening situations and to take part in implementing protective measures.

The popular character of civil defense in our daily life is thus becoming steadily more apparent; it is based on the common application to all national and societal activities under SED leadership. In view of the increased arms buildup by imperialism's aggressive circles, additional significance is being gained by reliable protection of life and the defense of socialism. In this context, civil defense readiness is decisively determined by the political attitude and activities of the working class.

### Exercises Provide General Benefits

Volunteer civil defense workers in all districts have, in socialist competition, used their leisure time to further augment the operational readiness of their units. More than 90 percent of the members participated in competitive efforts. Thousands of collectives and individuals were awarded fully qualified status in civil defense. In Karl-Marx-Stadt Bezirk alone this amounted to 695 collectives and 800 volunteer workers. The units demonstrated the high level of their training in exercises, performance evaluations and examinations. Good and excellent grades were achieved in performance evaluations and exercises. The exercises served not only to demonstrate the high readiness status of leadership and units, but simultaneously obtained economic benefits. These amounted to several million marks. During many hours of volunteer working time, civil defense personnel either improved existing training facilities or created new ones. Frequently a direct contribution was made to the GDR's economic strengthening and to an improvement of the citizens' living conditions.



Among other things, members of a civil defense collective of the Kammnitz silicate raw material conglomerate VEB made possible through their work the use, prior to schedule, of a conveyor facility for the transport of raw kaolin. A bridge in Cottbus Bezirk, built by civil defense personnel during an exercise, is of direct benefit for socialist agriculture. Bridges and roads have been built or improved in other localities as well.

In several districts, civil defense personnel gave a good account of themselves last year during work in forests damaged by snowfall and in flood control. Civil defense volunteers secured 6,000 cubic meters of timber from the forests in Karl-Marx-Stadt Bezirk. Our fellow workers also did excellent work in repairing damages caused by high seas.

High praise is especially due to women and girls who actively participate in civil defense. Today, almost one out of every three civil defense volunteers is female. Their readiness to serve in training, performance evaluations, exercises and operations is exemplary. They make a considerable contribution to the steadily increasing readiness of units and civil defense facilities and to many and varied efforts for the protection of people and production.

I should like to call particular attention to the massive contributions made to civil defense by the workers. Workers in combines, enterprises and plants have proven that to them, high production performance and civil defense efforts for the protection of life and socialist achievements are indivisible. Proof of this, among other things, are their participation in exercises in Bismarck and Bitterfeld; their study of basic civil defense principles; and the fact that about two-thirds of all collectives competing for the title of "socialist workers' collective" have assumed tasks designed to strengthen civil defense.

#### Increasing Requirements

Civil defense exercises in cities and villages have indicated that participation in the protection of people and the economy have become the responsibility of all citizens. The citizens' readiness to participate has been significantly increased by informal talks in family groups and citizens' meetings.

But the demands made on civil defense are on the increase. All the members and volunteer workers are aware of this. That is why they extend their utmost efforts in fulfilling their tasks, as was decided in the announcement of a competition by a unit from the Leipzig radio and telecommunications technology VEB.

Creative efforts on the part of workers, volunteers and civil defense officials are an important foundation for further increasing operational readiness in every enterprise, every city and every community. In this, we make good use of the wealth of experience in civil defense gained by the USSR and adapt it to our own particular conditions. In this year of the Tenth SED Congress, everything will be done in civil defense, as in all other areas of our societal development, to strengthen and protect the GDR, our socialist fatherland.

## HUNGARY

### ACZEL INTERVIEWED ON HUNGARIAN POLICY

Vienna EUROPÄISCHE RUNDschau in German No 4, 80 pp 3-38

[Interview with György Aczel, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and member of the MSZMP Politburo, by Paul Lendvai: "György Aczel on Politics in Hungary"]

[Text] [Question] What are the key problems of the present-day society in Hungary? Where is the dividing line between the improvement of the living standard and the so-called prestige-oriented consumption (the phenomenon that the American sociologist Veblen in his time called "conspicuous consumption") on the one hand and the intensification of social inequality or the emergence of new antagonisms between individual strata on the other hand?

[Answer] I appreciate the good intention of your question, but please bear with me, if I sense in it the well-known, stereotyped and hackneyed answers that are given in the West or that people think they can give in reply to the question what exactly is the main problem of Hungary's society and of the socialist society in general.

One answer runs as follows: The East European countries have not given their people true freedom; even in the field of material values, they could offer them nothing but an economy constantly contending with shortages, a meager, deficiency-ridden economy. This allegation, which is totally at variance with the realities and which thus is objectively not true, is extremely unfair, because these countries are measured against the most advanced Western capitalist countries, without taking into consideration the historical and historical-economic background.

After all, what are the antecedents of socialism in Hungary? Let us consider the year 1937, the year in which the independent Republic of Austria encountered serious social, political and economic difficulties. But in regard to the key indicators of economic development, Hungary lagged far behind this Austria struggling with enormous difficulties. Over 50 percent of the Hungarian people lived and worked in the agrarian sector, as compared to one-third in Austria. In terms of per capita income, Austria's national income had at that time reached the European average, whereas Hungary's national income fell short of that average by 40 percent. This developmental difference did not diminish during World War II, for Hungary's war losses were heavier by far than those of Austria.

Those who so readily underrate the results of a socialism that came into existence just a few decades ago should also consider the historical way-stations of the development leading up to the bourgeois revolutions. After the bourgeois revolution initiated in 1640, it took England 100 years, before the process of economic growth showed an unequivocally rising tendency, and nearly 150 years, before the capitalist economic upswing set in. In France, the Bastille was stormed in 1789, but it was only the events after 1875 that conclusively staved off the danger of dynastic restoration. So how can one expect socialism to enter the historical stage like Pallas Athena, who sprang from the head of Zeus in full armor?

In the first few years after World War II, Hungary achieved significant results in regard to economic reconstruction. As early as 1949, industrial production exceeded the prewar level. But at that time, the leadership assessed unrealistically the country's developmental potential. The one-sided and incorrect economic policy--marked by awakening of false hopes and underestimation of the realities and linked to the period characterized by the personality cult--interrupted the development and finally reversed it. The serious mistakes of the first half of the 1950's and the antagonistic activities led to the tragic events of 1956. The consequences of political errors--one could even say sins--as well as mistakes in economic policy gave rise to such a tragic situation that after 1956 it took us a long time to remedy the damage--above all the consequences of the general strike--and to consolidate our economy and our society. But even before 1956, we had achieved epochal results. Hungary no longer was the "country of 3 million beggars"; fundamental social and economic injustices were eliminated.

After 1956--as soon as the socialist political and social system was able to overcome the tragic distortions of the years of the personality cult and the momentous consequences of the counterrevolution of 1956--we began to implement a new, long-term economic policy. In a consistent two-front struggle, the party policy rejected all that in the given situation was not real and that was not likely to be supported by the masses.

In this period, the development of the agrarian sector and the improvement of the living conditions of the farmers assumed great importance. During one particular phase--from 1971 to 1975--the annual growth rate amounted to nearly 5 percent, a dynamic development unparalleled in the world. The wheat yields increased from an average of 12.5 quintals per hectare in 1958 to 42.8 quintals in 1978, while the corn yields increased during the same period from 21.7 quintals per hectare to 31.3 quintals. Generally speaking, we can say: With our average yields and our agricultural per capita output, we can compete with the most advanced capitalist countries in Europe. The collectivization was a significant step, which proved anew: The collective does not make the individual atrophy; rather, it brings about its full development. The economic sector based on large-scale, modern enterprises, which accounts for most of the commodity output, was successfully combined with the so-called domestic economy--to the advantage of both the individual income and the general supply of goods. The people in the villages reached a level of affluence that formerly they would not even have dreamed of. At the same time, the farmers have also become fully developed human beings in regard to their self-esteem and human dignity. Prior to 1945, they were beaten and humiliated by the landowners' supervisors; it was said that the peasant needed to know only so much that he would not put both feet in one boot. Today the farmer studies biology and knows what it means to be a free person. The farmer lives well. Already, this has occasionally

given rise to certain inner contradictions: Some people fear that in terms of development and affluence the village may outstrip the city and that this may then give rise to new social friction. Naturally, the political leadership is striving--as a matter of general principle--for a balanced development. It is to this end that Hungary's industry has supplied the requisite industrial foundation for the development of agriculture and absorbed the excess labor of an agrarian sector that had anyhow been overpopulated.

The basic objective of our economic policy is to raise the living standard of the population. Our efforts have produced tangible results in numerous areas of our life, e.g. in the infrastructure. For the old system left us a paltry heritage.

At the beginning of the 1950's, new contradictions emerged. For at that time, the crucial task was to build factories and residential housing--for the requisite schools, kindergartens and polyclinics and the network of retail stores, we did not have enough money, nor did we pay sufficient attention to these projects. Beginning in the 1960's--and especially during the period from 1968 to 1974--we made significant headway in eliminating these shortcomings, and in some fields Hungary became one of the most advanced countries. The housing, appliance and furniture supply expanded rapidly; we also were quite successful in our efforts to make education and culture accessible to all.

### Three Criteria

There are various standards for assessing the economic development of a country. I will discuss just three criteria. The first criterion indicates a country's achievements as measured against its own past. The second criterion--which objectively is the most important one--indicates which of the social and economic goals the country set for itself it has been able to attain. And the third criterion--which presently is in the foreground--indicates the position the country has reached in the world-economic hierarchy. I think it is a decisive turning point that it is not only on the basis of the first two criteria, but also of the third one that Hungary's development can be considered extraordinary.

According to economic historians, the results we achieved during the last 20 years of socialist construction produced--the developmental inconsistencies notwithstanding--the most rapid and balanced economic expansion in the history of Hungary. During this rapid development, there occurred the global economic crisis, the explosive rise in the prices of energy and raw materials, and also within the country there occurred changes--above all on account of the depletion of our extensive reserves. These two factors made us realize: Our customary methods are no longer sufficient for defending our accomplishments and for advancing further.

We used the concept of crisis in the Marxist sense to define those antagonistic contradictions that ensue from the basic structure of a society and that even the most skillful policy cannot eliminate--not even in the long term, let alone for good--from social and economic life. Thus we are not dealing with a crisis; rather, we are on the one hand confronted with the critical difficulties of the capitalist world market, which affect us on account of our dependence on foreign trade and which show up the shortcomings of our economic management--and on the other hand with the necessity to renew our economic structure and our system of economic management; generally speaking, it is a question of changing our way of thinking. This is our main concern.



Almost every single day, we tell the public about our concrete economic concerns and tasks. The social dimensions of these problems are perhaps not mentioned as much. One of the most difficult, agonizing problems is the housing situation--the significant achievements in this area notwithstanding--and the West's propaganda often shows a great deal of malicious glee in discussing it. There is no getting away from it--we really are not as well off as we would like to be. Today there are more housing applications than there were 20 or 30 years ago. Why is this--because we did not build any new apartments? Only those can say this who did not even see photographs of Hungary. For in the past decades, over one-third of Hungary's population moved into new apartments. During the period from 1970 to 1980, the share of apartments with three or more rooms increased from 11 to 24 percent. The increase in the number of applicants is due primarily to the fact that the justified demands are growing more rapidly than the capacities.

Social security, the realization of full employment is our great socialist achievement. But this achievement, too, has its negative effects, which--although they qualitatively differ from those of former times--must by no means be underrated. The demand in the labor market exceeds the supply and the manpower is not always found in those places where it is needed most. This goes not only for the workers, but also for the intelligentsia. We have not yet found the optimal mode of selection--the mode that would also be in accord with socialist humanity--that would remedy this situation. Mass dismissals and similar methods are unacceptable to us. It is through our own socialist and communist approach that we must find a way of efficiently allocating manpower. It is not only in the interest of the community, but also in the interest of the individual concerned that he or she do the kind of work that is of the greatest benefit to society.

At the present stage of development, there are simultaneously coming to the fore two basic trends: pay in accordance with the work done--which entails a differentiation of incomes--and a leveling trend resulting from our principle of social security. The correct correlation of these two processes is of crucial importance for our future. This is not a simple task and we have not yet found the key to the definitive solution. These two processes and a more thorough elaboration of the problem concerning pay for the work actually done are of crucial importance.

As regards prestige-oriented consumption, this is not one of our most pressing problems. Incidentally: This is another one of those subjects that I feel give rise to the oft-repeated, superficial answers of the West. The very fact that the West "discovers" in our country and holds us responsible for the symptoms of the so-called affluent society, while at the same time claiming that our country is characterized by poverty, backwardness and scarcity proves the inconsistency of these views. Both of these allegations are exaggerated. We know that even today there are in our country sizable strata that are truly hard up, but we have left far behind the misery of the past. On the other hand, we must not only eliminate poverty, but eradicate it from our memory.

Naturally, our country is not immune to prestige-oriented consumption. The improvement of the living standard and the emergence of new consumer goods and demands are accompanied--at least as long as poverty has not been totally eliminated and as long as the material potential has not yet reached a sufficiently high level--by a somewhat distorted attitude toward material goods, property and consumption. The influences inherited from the past and the influences intruding from the West

contribute as much to this attitude as do stupidity and vanity. The formerly unpropertied classes' striving for material goods—which in part is a reaction to the former misery--the passionate "collecting" of possessions, the excessive consumption, the waste and the boastfulness are unacceptable, albeit understandable. But whereas in the developed capitalist countries the institutionalized social system and the order based on economic profit condone and encourage the consumption-oriented attitude and the yearning for prestige, the social forces in a socialist system must oppose these phenomena and they will not allow these attitudes to persist overly long. In increasing affluence and expanding consumption, our objective is to free, beautify and enrich the people's lives.

In an interview (EUROPAEISCHE RUNDSCHAU No 2, 1980), Federal Chancellor Kreisky said--among other things--that the Turkish guest workers were more at ease in Austria than in the Federal Republic, even though their wages were higher in the FRG. This is an interesting and undoubtedly correct statement, which indicates that the standard of living includes the quality of life in a more general sense, not least the interpersonal contacts and the general social atmosphere. We evaluate the people's social well-being, their outlook on life not only on the basis of the individual citizen's material possessions, but also by the people's general condition, their sense of security, their self-assurance and prospects and many other--statistically hardly demonstrable--factors. I am convinced that anyone who tries to assess the life of the Hungarian people from this point of view, on the basis of a general interpretation will arrive at the conclusion that Hungary is not lagging behind the materially more affluent countries.

It is worthwhile to ask what accounts for this mental balance, this sense of general well-being. I would consider the sense of security to be the most important factor. The people need not be concerned about their future; they need not fear unemployment; they are not haunted by the fear of bankruptcy or by the prohibitive costs of medical care and therapy in the event of illness. A second, but not secondary factor are the increasing opportunities in regard to codetermination. Depending on interest and willingness, the individual can exercise the right of codetermination in regard to the affairs of the smaller or larger collective. In accordance with the level of qualification or the cogency of the arguments, everyone can exert an influence on the course of public affairs and can freely express his or her opinion. To be sure, the individual concerned may be confronted with conflicts such as may result from the vanity of his or her supervisor or the supervisor's concern about his or her prestige, but even in that case the individual's existence would not be threatened. The third factor: the possibilities concerning satisfaction of cultural demands. I think if we staged a competition in regard to the average number of books the individual citizens of the various countries own and the number of cultural events attended, we Hungarians would do quite well. As for the fourth factor, I would mention the steadily increasing opportunities and chances regarding the development of personal talents. Just compare the number of students from farmers' and workers' families studying at the universities and technical colleges of the capitalist countries with their number at our universities! Last but not least, I would like to mention the clear conscience. Man is a moral being; injustice damages the personality as well. For the intact, morally sensitive person, poverty, exploitation and human suffering are a constant source of inner imbalance and conflict. An integral part of our sense of social well-being is the feeling that in the international arena we are on the side of progress and

that we are supporting the struggle of the peoples who are fighting for their just cause, for their national independence, for their development and for an existence worthy of a human being.

### On the 'Red Bourgeoisie'

According to another set of reproaches leveled against us, we, too, are incapable of eliminating the social classes; in fact, we are criticized for having created a new class, the "red bourgeoisie." We do not deny that in their social manners, their lifestyle or their way of thinking, some people—including a few leading personalities—give up their former self and this may be reflected in a distortion of their conduct, their style of work, their working methods and in many other ways. But this is a matter of individuals, not of a whole class. There is a whole array of guarantees that obviate such unhealthy and harmful isolation. The practice of selecting, evaluating and rating the various officials on the basis of close consideration of the standpoint and views of the social organs can be considered one of these guarantees. In this regard, there are on each level three requirements concerning individuals in responsible positions: political aptitude, professional qualifications and leadership qualities. It goes without saying that one must take into consideration the total personality, all of the individual's character and behavior traits.

Among these guarantees is the very critical scrutiny of the officials on the part of public opinion. The requirements concerning observance of our moral norms of socialism are more rigid for high-ranking individuals than for all other people. The social control of the work and conduct of the leading personalities and the collective nature of the decisions—especially the key decisions—are becoming more and more pronounced and increasingly institutionalized. I am not saying that we have already fully developed a process, in which individuals resign or are replaced in consequence of an initiative "from below," but this method is increasingly used alongside the personnel changes initiated from the top and we hope that in time it will become the leading procedure. Another guarantee is the flexibility that is reflected in the composition of the student body at the universities, in the character of the representative political organs, which take into consideration every social class and every one of its spheres of interest. Considering just the facts, we need not be afraid that there may arise in our country a class of mandarins aloof from the people and bent on the pursuit of its own interests. We do not deny that there were, are and will be individual cases of abuse of power, but the moral and legal structure of the system is strong enough to check and more and more to curtail these phenomena.

Many people try to prove the existence of the "new" class by pointing to the perquisites and privileges that in the whole world are part of representation. There may have been individual cases of excess in this regard, but they are rigorously curtailed and we are about to eliminate them entirely. In any case, office-related representation can never be a symptom of the emergence of a social caste. One arrives at a much more accurate conclusion, if one examines, for example, the incomes of individuals holding key political posts, let alone their private assets. I even think that a comparison of the material situation of the politicians in Hungary with the situation of the politicians in any capitalist country would show that the income of our politicians represents only a fraction of the salary of their Western colleagues. In Hungary, the income of the highest-ranking functionaries is approximately twice as high as the wages of a well-paid skilled worker!



## Hungary's Place in the World Economy

[Question] In the August issue of the journal VALOSAG, a Hungarian economist claims that in spite of its economic success and its social and cultural rise, Hungary's international economic ranking has not changed and he even adds that "According to calculations, the exchange ratios of the Hungarian economy have deteriorated by approximately 70 percent, as compared to the year 1913, i.e. the period immediately preceding World War I. So the problem is not that the world economy undergoes diverse changes, but that in the various periods of its development it has always been difficult for the Hungarian economy constructively to meet the challenge." Do you feel this assessment is correct?

[Answer] No. I would like to draw your attention to the reports delivered by Prof Berend and Prof Bogmar at this year's conference of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences: They proved that as far as the economic level is concerned, Hungary has moved up from the lower to the middle ranks; it presently occupies a much higher place in the international field. Hungary's industry and agriculture turn out a number of products that meet the international standard, and the production costs are quite acceptable. In regard to the per capita production of fowl and eggs, we are among the world's leading countries. This applies also to the per capita production of meat and grain. Good results have been achieved by Hungary's pharmaceutical and automobile industries. An element misleading many observers in their calculations is the fact that the expenditures of the country, which once was among the most backward countries of Europe, increased relatively rapidly. The exchange ratios deteriorated as rapidly; after 1973, they turned particularly unfavorable and hindered our progress in certain respects. But I do not want to be misunderstood: Our people continue to lead a normal life; there have been no critical interruptions in everyday life. A significant part of the burden was taken up by the national economy; drastic repercussions on the living standard of the population were prevented. In spite of the deterioration of the external conditions, we established a general medical insurance system, free medical services covering all Hungarian citizens; we have raised the child allowance and we continue to guarantee free education for all. For each forint, there are approximately 50 hellers worth of benefits "outside the pay envelope." Does not all this increase the commodity production costs? You mentioned the year 1913. During that period, approximately 1.5 million people left the country, because they could not find work. In the interwar period, Hungary's industrial and agricultural products naturally were still very inexpensive. But at that time, daily wages of 80 hellers were the rule, and according to a popular saying, this was too much for starving, but too little to live on. The crucial fact is that since 1978 our response to the deterioration of the exchange ratios and to the economic challenges has been elastic and dynamic.

[Question] There is no doubt that the world-economic factors had and still have an effect. The aforementioned article nevertheless states that in the course of the past years your most important high-level decisions generally were frustrated by the realities. How is it that these difficulties have intensified just now?

[Answer] The interconnections are not so simple. Until the beginning of the 1960's, we had to concentrate our efforts on overcoming the war losses, on remedying the dislocations caused by the 1950's and the counterrevolution and on organizing the socialist agrarian sector on the basis of large-scale farms. In other words, the duration of the supposedly smooth socialist development has been no longer than a mere 18 to 20 years. This is one aspect.



On the other hand, there exists in Hungary a commodity output structure of long standing, which also determines foreign trade. Whereas formerly we had to give 2 tons of meat to obtain 10 tons of protein feed, we now have to give 3 tons. The foreign trade exchange ratios of our oil-, gas- and iron-deficient country have deteriorated in an historically unprecedented degree. In this regard, we are unfortunately occupying first place in Europe. We have no alternative but to increase efficiency. But how? We have economists who think highly of capitalist efficiency. But in terms of the world economy, this efficiency entails--I think Austria is an exception in this regard--high unemployment, inflation and enormous, unsolvable social tensions. The crucial social problem is to attain efficiency in a socialist way. That is to say, in a humanist way, without the pressure of an army of unemployed and other negative phenomena--probably our hitherto greatest social project.

[Question] This is undoubtedly a fundamental problem--I fully agree with you in this regard. But I would like to quote a well-known Hungarian economist (VALOSAG, No 5, 1980), who thinks it is impossible to formulate "a consistent socioeconomic normative theory that can enforce a political-ethical value system without opposition and at the same time insure economic efficiency. This is impossible, if one wants to be realistic and allow for the real nature of people, communities, organizations and social groups."

[Answer] I do not agree to this "impossibility." And the article does not say this. Undoubtedly, there are contradictions between a narrowly conceived economic efficiency and the moral-ethical value system. The socialist society--and it alone--is able to solve this problem; the requisite foundations have been laid. We know that the implementation will entail certain tensions--as is always the case when the old is replaced by the new. Moreover, there is no telling how future developments will change the conceptions. The planning of both concrete and likely demands is an important factor in this great experiment, which aims at the simultaneous development of efficiency and social humanity. I am convinced that there is a good chance of success. Certain fields of activity can be superseded, but demand will keep giving rise to other, new fields. Education, trade and industry, and the allocation of manpower must be adjusted to this development. A few years ago, we thought that in genetics we need only theoreticians. Since then, there have emerged large-scale industrial plants and agricultural enterprises and all of a sudden we realized that there is a great need for experts in applied genetics. In the journal MAGYAR TUDOMANY, I recently deplored the fact that so far the agricultural production associations had hired 1,430 lawyers to legally safeguard their contracts. At the same time, they employed only 43 biologists, because the idea that there is a need for geneticists and qualified zoologists has come up only recently.

There is no danger of unemployment; we just have to see to it that the people are employed where they are needed. We also know that to change one's job is not an easy matter. But unemployment would be even more painful.

[Question] Some people say that there are too many university-trained people in Hungary, with the high-school diploma becoming discredited and only university graduates being respected. There is a large number of theoretical institutions. Is it not true that the country has too many university-trained individuals? Incidentally, this is not a Hungarian specialty; it is a Central European characteristic

that dates back to the 1930's. But nowadays it is especially evident that too many people are sent to the university. They go through their courses of study and then--rather than doing what is necessary--they take up an altogether different line of work.

[Answer] It is difficult to strike an accurate balance, precisely because of the rapid changes in the requirements. In the 1950's, a great educational campaign was launched, which in part was aimed at incorporating workers' and farmers' children in the intelligentsia, abolishing former privileges and generally increasing the number of highly qualified experts. Before the liberation of the country, there were relatively few university graduates, a fraction of the present number. On the other hand, some of them--those who had compromised themselves--left the country.

[Question] And the others stayed in the country and pursued their careers.

[Answer] The honest people have found their place. The training of the intelligentsia was successful. Today there are more trained economists in one district than formerly in all of Hungary. Experts are in demand, especially in enterprises managed by advanced methods. In the Babolna State Farm, there are 160 university graduates vis-a-vis 4,000 manual laborers; at other farms, there are no more than 20 university graduates.

[Question] We should entrust to Robert Burgert, the director of Babolna, the entire national economy--he would set it right.

[Answer] We are not in favor of monopolies. Burgert, too, would not be at ease, if he were alone. He himself says he considers himself a lucky man on account of the stiff competition. He competes in part with the world market and in part with outstanding domestic enterprises such as the Nadudvar LPG [agricultural production cooperative]--to cite only one example of many--which uses very different methods. Incidentally, I do not think that the number of university graduates is generally too high. We feel the opposite is the case. In some fields, this may be true, while in other fields the management has not yet been able correctly to assess how many and what experts it needs. Frequently, university graduates are hired for jobs, for which the high-school diploma would be sufficient. For other jobs, on the other hand, that call for university graduates, university graduates are not hired just because the advantages to be derived are not realized.

[Question] So it is a matter of incorrect allocation rather than of the lack of an optimal and efficient utilization?

[Answer] These phenomena are interrelated. Our educational system is overspecialized and this goes also for the training of the scientists. This restricts the necessary mobility of labor: According to the principles of our university reform, the students are to be provided with the basic knowledge that insures flexible employment. In view of the rapidly changing requirements, one can safely say that every 7 to 8 years the knowledge acquired becomes outdated. Perhaps this applies to Hungary even more than to other, more highly developed countries. Since the humane norms of socialism are binding for us, we cannot fire a 43-year-old person, because his or her training is outdated. The flexibility governing the allocation of labor must be constituted in such a way that further development of the system's greatest asset--humanity, social security and increasingly extensive civil

liberties--is assured. This certainly is not an easy task and it can be solved only through a creative approach; but we consider just this--the ability to find new solutions to new tasks--to be the spirit of Marxism. Our model is Lenin, who sought a new Marxist answer to every new question and who did not content himself with merely quoting Marx.

But let us return to the international challenge with which our national economy is confronted--I am referring to the sharply increased demands raised by the world market: Viewed in terms of long-range development, these requirements will be decidedly favorable for socialism, since they force it to innovate and to modernize its operating methods. As early as 1979, one could observe a greater willingness to initiate changes--a process that is gaining more and more momentum and that in a few years is likely to result in a very dynamic and positive development.

[Question] No one denies that the standard of living in Hungary has risen in the last 20 years. But the people's consciousness has changed as well. The people are better off, but subjectively they frequently feel they are worse off, because their demands have grown as well. For the person who wants to buy a color television set, it is no consolation to be told that so and so many people have black-and-white sets. Perhaps the entire Hungarian propaganda and argumentation is somewhat flawed in that it relies too much on comparisons with the prewar period, which is not accepted--especially not by the young generation--as a valid argument.

[Answer] The period during which we constantly made comparisons with the past is over. At that time, this was no mistake, for in comparison with the general misery of the pre-liberation period we were making fantastic headway. Today, when we talk about history, we do not simply want to make comparisons; rather, we want to cast light on the historical events and create a realistic historical consciousness. The shaping of this historical consciousness is not equivalent to the desire to identify ourselves with all episodes of every epoch. You constantly try to wrap us up in the bag of the entire past, but in regard to yourself you naturally do not do that. Let me adduce a French example: The history of France comprises both the great French Revolution and French colonial expansion. Every year, Giscard d'Estaing lays down wreaths at the graves of Clemenceau and Petain--indeed even at the grave of the collaborator Petain. Considering this act, no normal person would say that Giscard d'Estaing continues the policy of Petain. In discussions with Frenchmen, I sometimes mention the fact that it was France's bourgeois democratic system that in 1918 toppled Mihaly Karolyi and Hungary's first bourgeois democratic regime and that later suppressed by armed force the Soviet-based republic, but my French interlocutors say: It was not we who did that. Likewise, no one blames the Belgian royal family for the fact that in 1902 one of its kings killed 16 of 24 million Congolese. Similarly, the Catholic Church has never engaged in self-criticism on account of the inquisition. And yet one cannot identify the present Catholic Church with the inquisition. What I am opposing is the intention and goal of bourgeois propaganda to wrap us up for good in the bag of the Rakosi era.

We want to impart to our adult and young citizens a historical consciousness that comprises the starting point of 1945, the beginnings as well as the subsequent development and the country's present situation. As far as our mistakes are concerned, one should not forget that socialism is a young society. A young society should be granted a period of grace, which naturally includes both positive and negative results.



[Question] What is and what is not accepted does not depend on the Western press, but on the people living in this country; it is they who decide what is and what is not to be accepted.

[Answer] I once engaged in self-criticism in front of Hungarian young people, because in an article I had used the expression "transmission of historical experience." I had to admit that this was not the right term. It is preferable to speak of exchange of experience: of the exchange of historical experience between the generations. So this means that I, too, must learn from the way a young person of today views the country and that naturally I must try to pass on my own thoughts and experience.

[Question] Could one possibly consider the fact that there is insufficient knowledge of Hungarian history to be a weakness of present-day Hungary? How do you explain the fact that many students of a particular high school grade do not know on whose side Hungary fought during World War II? Many students replied that Hungary fought on the side of the Russians against the Germans. The journal IFJUKOMMUNISTA published the results of a poll, according to which 20 percent of the respondents did not know who Lenin was—nonwithstanding the fact that this country places greater emphasis on the discussion of politics and ideology than do the Western states and that studies, courses of instruction and a great deal of political information are offered on a regular basis.

[Answer] I question the general validity of this poll. However, it would be utopian to think that in Hungary all young people are politically educated; but in this regard as well, we do not shun comparison with the most highly developed bourgeois states. For the most part, the young people know a great deal. It goes without saying that one can find in any stratum apolitical groups that do not yet take an interest in public affairs. And there are people in our country who are bent on pointing out negative aspects. The public opinion and the social reality of this country allow publication of very negative and distorted opinions and these views naturally give rise to discussions.

Two years ago, at one of the events staged in honor of the World Youth and Student Festival in Havana, I stood on a Vaci-utca platform and fielded questions presented by the audience. In reply to the question whether we were satisfied with the historical consciousness, I answered no. And I added that I was in favor of reintroducing history as a subject obligatory for high school graduation. This has now been implemented. In the mass media, too, we have of late intensified the discussion of historical problems. The primary task is to transmit the historical information to the young people in a more interesting and captivating way; the frequently distorted historical ideas must be corrected. We try to give the young people an objective, differentiated and true historical picture of the past, including the recent past. It would be wrong to gloss over the Horthy regime or totally to condemn the early stages of socialist construction, to produce the impression that at that time there were millions of Rakosis. Even in the history of that period, there is nothing we have to conceal.

[Question] Is there a Hungarian socialist model or at least a method of that type? In other words: In the historical experience of the past 20 to 30 years, what are the specific elements and what are the general ones?

[Answer] We have common principles, a common worldview, common goals and ideals and then there are certain national peculiarities. An element the socialist countries have in common is that their policy is based on social ownership of the means of production, on the socialist planned economy, on the power of the working class and of the working people and on the leading role of the Communist Party which embodies this power. There are no models that are equally valid everywhere. The term "model" is not applicable, since it suggests some kind of standard, something to be emulated. In this sense, we do not by any means want to be a model. The term "the Hungarian method" is more apt, if it is taken to mean that we try to reconcile the universal laws of socialist construction with the national characteristics and if it is not used for the purpose of confrontation. Probably the best solution would be to speak of a Hungarian answer to the Hungarian reality. For it is a question of meeting the world-historic socialist challenge presented to mankind in our own, specific way. We want to adapt the historical experience of socialism to our reality and thus make this reality produce the proper effect. It is not our task to decide whether this specific Hungarian answer has any aspects that can enrich the international experience of socialism. For us, the crucial task is to meet the requirements of our time and to build in our country a socialism that is in accord with the Hungarian reality and its specific economic, geographic and historical characteristics and with the interests of the people. Everyone knows: It would be pointless for two countries with different climates to try to obtain the same yield with the same variety of wheat. This would certainly result in a fiasco. Harmony in the essentials can be attained only through consideration of the differences.

According to the records of our recent history, we put down the armed counterrevolution of 1956 through armed force and we thoroughly learned our lesson in regard to the period characterized by the name of Rakosi. The process, in the course of which this happened, did not begin as late as November 1956; it began at the Central Committee session in July of that year. The events of October and November only served to make apparent with greater urgency the need for changes. We were forced to reconsider the objective of socialist policy and the means of attaining it. We posed the question as follows: How can we build socialism--without blood, suffering and excessive effort--in collaboration with all of the people; how can we make the public share in the control of the officials and institutions endowed with power; how can we democratize social life and establish a collective leadership free from subjectivism and dogmatism. And finally, how can we maintain and strengthen the ties that link us with our socialist friends, our most important allies.

#### The Relations With the Soviet Union

From the beginning, the internationalist character of our policy was quite pronounced. Self-confidently, we consider ourselves an integral part of the world's socialist forces. And now as before, our relationship to the Soviet Union is of special significance. Our enemies regard any anti-Sovietism--no matter whether it is practiced by Pinochet or by Pol Pot--as positive. They take advantage of every seemingly suitable occasion to discredit the Soviet Union. I took it upon myself to study the latest issue of your *EUROPÄISCHE RUNDSCHAU*. I have to confess that I was stunned by the large amount of materials that are conceived in this spirit. For example, there is the article by Jean Laloy, in which he tries to justify the Cold War, or the analysis by Norman Podhoretz, which on the pretext of criticizing George Kennan rehashes the most antiquated anticommunist arguments.



We do not put pressure on any newspaper or editorial staff—we have shunned such a practice from the very beginning—to the effect that a capitalist country should be covered either in a negative way or not at all. This absurd one-sidedness dominates a large part of the capitalist press, especially when the Soviet Union is concerned.

This goes also for the Soviet Union's internationalist support of Hungary in 1956. The passions that this subject formerly aroused in foreign countries have now more or less subsided, although now and then one still encounters allusions to it in Western commentaries on the present situation in Poland. The augurs of former times no longer want to recall their predictions in regard to the oppression allegedly in store for Hungary, in regard to the decades of reprisals and revenge and in regard to a "subjugated" Hungarian nation that would have to languish under tank tracks and under a government kept in power with the aid of bayonets. Well, which of these predictions have come true? None! To be sure, even today there is no lack of disparagement of our country. We are pitied as a "satellite state" and again and again we hear the old saying: When it rains in Moscow, the umbrellas must be opened in Budapest as well. We are told that Hungary is a vassal of the Soviet Union, that the economic relations between Hungary and the Soviet Union reflect only the interests of the latter, etc. It would be pointless to tell those voicing these views that our relations with the Soviet Union, the Hungarian-Soviet friendship are the primary reason why the Hungarian people has in the past 30 years gone through the most dynamic developmental period of its history. Some people cannot and some do not want to understand this.

It is an irrefutable fact: The immense debt left by the historical Hungary to its own people was cleared off with the help of the Soviet Union; we received from the Soviet Union not only encouragement and sympathy, but above all tangible support; and this support was granted at a time when the Soviet Union itself urgently needed every single kopeck, every single gram of grain and raw materials.

Sworn enemies of socialist ideas have often asked the question what the "service of the Soviet Union" costs us. The answer to such questions is contained in the facts. But we can ask the counterquestion: What would it cost the world, if the Soviet Union did not exist? How many Chiles would there be? Where would the independent Third World states be? Would the annals of the European continent have comprised the longest—presently 35-year-old—period of peace in centuries? Would there be an independent and neutral Austria, in regard to whose emergence and existence the Soviet Union played and still plays an unequivocally positive role—a fact conceded by Federal Chancellor Kreisky in his statement?

In the international arena, Hungary strongly supports and promotes the diverse and increasingly intensive international contacts. In view of our country's lack of raw materials and energy and our specific economic situation—conditions resembling those of Austria—this openness toward the world is imperative. And what is still more important: our elementary interest in the maintenance of peace. We have again and again insisted—and we will keep insisting—that the historic confrontation between capitalism and socialism be settled within the framework of peaceful coexistence.

## The Conflicts of Interest

Similarly, with regard to our domestic policy, we are developing the socialist society in accordance with our traditions and the realities of the present epoch. We are aware of the fact that in our society there are at work diverse interests, that alongside the general interests of the people as a whole, of the nation, there are various group and individual interests. We know that it is only the most conscious individuals committed to our ideas who are governed in their actions by the concern for society as a whole. These individuals are outnumbered by those whose attitude is determined by their group or individual interests. Although we give priority to the public interest, we do not want to suppress the individual interests; rather, we want to use the energy contained in these interests for advancing our common goals. We plan to do this by means of social democracy and by increasing the material incentives.

Through the socialist reorganization of agriculture, we have put our alliance policy, the alliance with the workers and farmers, on a new basis. At the same time, relying on the force of our ideas and on the people, we proclaimed: "Whoever is not against us is for us." The correctness and truth of this basic political attitude has been repeatedly confirmed by the facts and results of the past 24 years--nearly a quarter century. Thus we regard as allies those religious individuals with whom we are united--irrespective of the fundamental differences in regard to ideological issues--not only through the struggle against rearmament, bloodshed and war, but also through the building of our socialist homeland. History has taught us that a policy oriented toward common interests rather than toward dividing differences and the tolerance resulting from such a policy benefit our cause. This need in no way be at variance with the consistent observance of our principles. In the international arena, we are siding with all people who champion peace and take an objective stand, who are not obsessed by anticommunist agitation, hostility and hatred, who advocate peaceful coexistence. Thus we are close to Austria and similar states, even though our standpoints differ in regard to a great many fundamental issues.

Today we, our results and aspirations are frequently praised, and for motives that are not always sincere, we are even presented as a model. But we ourselves take an objective view of our place and role in the world. The results must not make us complacent, if only because even now we are not immune against errors. For example, at first we underestimated the effects of the global economic crisis on our national economy. I think we realized just in time that on account of the complex relations between the world market and the Hungarian economy the waves of the crisis would not subside at our borders and that on the "high seas" of economics we would have to navigate accordingly.

## The Danger of Political Subjectivism

[Question] In a statement you made in an Indian journal, you called political subjectivism one of the greatest dangers "of today and not only of today." In what way and by what means does the present Hungarian leadership prevent this mistake? Is there a guarantee that the mistakes of the past will not be repeated? After all, there is a one-party system and no opposition press. Can you describe the mechanism--if such a mechanism exists--for recognizing and resolving contradictions?

[Answer] A subjectivist is a person whose reality is not that which exists; a person who transfers his wishful thinking and erroneous ideas to reality, who confuses the concepts "I want," "there is" and "it is possible." The danger of political subjectivism is present in every political system. Political subjectivism threatens every party, above all those holding power, but also opposition and underground parties. Subjectivism becomes socially dangerous especially when there is no control, when the political leadership bases its decisions on subjective assessments.

New social systems are especially vulnerable to the lure of subjectivism; they can easily be infected. In every new system, there are people who disregard reality and who advocate nothing but ideas, their idols. Among the elements conducive to the spread of subjectivism are threatening situations such as existed in Hungary in 1919 and after 1945, in the years of the Cold War. It is of crucial importance for the success of socialism that those who participate in its development prevent by any means the spread of subjectivism. We, too, are trying to prevent this. There are no pat solutions. We have tried to develop various methods, but we do not regard as sufficient the results achieved. We need surer solutions. We know that even the political system of socialism pursued an erroneous, subjectivist policy. But once the dangers of subjectivism are recognized, socialism is in a position to eliminate it in all fundamental areas. Among the prerequisites for achieving this are the social ownership of the means of production, the modification of the class relations and the scientific ideology.

A valid representation of social interests is a fundamental prerequisite for the prevention of subjectivism. However, I regard as erroneous and restricted the view, according to which true representation of social interests is dependent on the number of parties, on the existence of opposition parties or oppositionist press organs. I consider this erroneous and untrue, because this view regards as absolute its own practice and value system, while rejecting as antidemocratic all other value systems and approaches. It considers its own norms to be eternally valid and against this standard it measures everything—the style of life as well as the political mechanism.

But is it really so? Is not just this a variant of subjectivism? Are the multi-party system and the opposition press really the only possible road toward democracy and control of power? The political mechanism of Western democracy is a dubious model not only for the socialist countries; in many Third World countries, too, the people are not prepared to use this mechanism.

#### Multi-Party System and Democracy

If we accepted the fact that the number of parties is in and by itself the determining factor, would we not be justified in calling the Horthy regime a democratic system? We could also question whether the various bourgeois parties of the Western democracies really observe the principles they verbally profess. The parties of the classical bourgeois democracy of the past century obviously represented individual classes and strata; at present, most of them—posing as "people's parties"—are engaged in canvassing votes and subjecting to their influence strata characterized by the most diverse interests. We have often pointed out: We do not consider the number of party members to be a criterion of the socialist society. In our view, socialism can be established in a multi-party system. It is due to



our specific historical background that our political mechanism arose from the one-party system and as a result of many other factors which cannot be discussed within the present framework. But all this is another reason why we should direct our attention to other forms of democracy in keeping with present conditions.

The West does not want to admit that in our country the dialog between the leaders and the rank and file--a continuous, routine exchange of opinions and ideas--is becoming more and more intensive. We are interested in many other forms of democracy, without considering establishment of new parties.

There arises the question: If within the framework of the one-party system we urge the people to vote, what are they to vote for? The answer is simple: for our policy! for that which is in need of the consent of the majority of the population. To be sure, this is a poll rather than an election. I would like to add that even today we do not regard this as sufficient. We will go further: We intend to make our election system more effective, more direct so as to provide the voters with greater latitude and more effective means in regard to the election of the individuals representing their interests.

Previously, our ideas concerning socialism were idyllic. Disregarding the pointers given by our classics, we believed and hoped that we were constructing a society free from any contradictions. We ignored Lenin's view, according to which contradictions are an integral part of any live society and the element distinguishing socialism from capitalism is not that socialism does not contain any contradictions, but the way in which it resolves these contradictions. Today we take for granted the existence of contradictions and differences of interests.

I do not by any means want to gloss over the real situation. In regard to the development of socialist democracy, a great deal remains to be done. But we have laid the foundations. Above all, I am thinking here of democracy at the workplace. I feel that in this field we have outstripped the capitalist countries: We are trying to give the workers at their workplaces more and more opportunities for shaping their working conditions and for expressing their opinions concerning their personal concerns, tasks and plans or those of their collective or for taking remedial measures. At present, our objective is to accumulate experience, to eliminate the formal elements, to revitalize the institutions and to do away with bureaucratic excesses. Presently, this is the crucial problem of intra-plant democracy.

A novel phenomenon is the increased participation of various organs representing social interests in the discussion and solution of problems concerning the smaller or larger collectives. There is no bill, no important decree that we would not in advance discuss with as many interested people as possible. The representatives of the trade unions, of the Patriotic Popular Front, of the Youth League, of the women's movement, of the various organs representing cooperative interests and of the diverse professional organs voice their views on all key problems. As members of leading social and political organs, they participate in the direct guidance of society. Their standpoint reflects the views and the criticism of the majority of the population. In connection with the development of our plans and conceptions, the Party and other leading organs usually request sociological research institutes to analyze the social reality, to expose its contradictions and to work out pertinent suggestions and recommendations. In our everyday political practice, the various scientific organs and institutions are becoming more and more effective in their advisory role.

The increased independence of the economic units, the reform of the economic structure and the gradual introduction of a price system that takes into account costs and the conditions in the world market--all these elements serve to obviate subjective errors. There is less and less room for subjectivist decisions--however well-intentioned they may be. For example, we cannot decree reduction of the wholesale price of pork--irrespective of the costs--since the producers, including the production cooperatives and the private farms--then would stop producing or they would slaughter the animals and consume them themselves rather than market them.

### The Role of the Mass Media

It would be a mistake to disregard the mass media. Some Western circles spare no expense or effort to transmit to us the voice of the political opposition from beyond the border. This exported opposition--which bases its "argumentation" on quotation and question marks, ridicule and defamation--does not merit any special attention, especially since it does not figure large in our thinking. But to name a specific characteristic just the same--this opposition holds that socialism can be considered socialism only if it is poor, dogmatic and rigid; but when the facts do not correspond to this pattern, i.e. when we leave these categories behind and strike out in a positive direction, then--argues this opposition--this is no longer socialism, but capitalism or at least a step in the direction of capitalism. As soon as we declare differentiation, market research, flexibility or the greatest possible supply of material goods to be important targets, we are immediately branded: Behold--they are deviating from socialism and approaching capitalism. The bugbear of socialism that this opposition wants to maintain makes apparent what the antisocialists in the West want: They want a dogmatic, rigid, conservative socialism.

Against the "opposition press" demanded by the West, we are pitting the practice of a responsible press. Committed to our socialist reality and our objectives, our mass media enjoy independence. They try truthfully to convey the standpoint of public opinion. Without being oppositionist in the aforementioned sense, they critically analyze our everyday life and transmit the frequently quite divergent opinions, interests and desires of the various strata. In the press and on television and radio, there periodically take place heated discussions on the most urgent and acute problems. To mention just a few discussion topics of the recent past: the demographic situation, the attitude of the young people toward Marxism, the innovation problems of the Hungarian economy, our intellectual atmosphere, the problems and concerns the young intellectuals, artists and writers encounter in embarking on their professional careers, etc. And it is not only justified, apt arguments in keeping with true interests that are voiced in these discussions. A great deal must be corrected, frequently more than is agreeable to us. But this does not invalidate the necessity of discussion nor does it diminish its value. That the discussions are fervent, probing and sincere is confirmed even by the Western radio station most hostile to us: While it keeps asserting that the Hungarian people lack liberty of opinion, the most radical, critical comments on Hungarian shortcomings quoted by the station--within the framework of a special weekly program--are taken from our own press. Those reading our papers can hardly accuse them of conformism.



## The Institutions and the Reform

[Question] But the question is whether the system is strong enough to make corrections in accordance with the changing conditions. The decision-making procedures have been modified, but according to some Hungarian economists, sociologists and publicists, these changes have not affected the system of institutions, the centralization of the decision-making process. Can we find a way out of our economic and sociopolitical difficulties without modifying the institutional system? Does this system give latitude to the creative, enterprising experts whom we cannot dispense with in the face of economic competition?

[Answer] You consider the system of our institutions to be static, even though it has undergone a tremendous development during the last 25 years. To be sure, we still have not progressed past the initial stages--our institutions must be developed further. Independence has assumed extraordinary significance. Our pioneers--Robert Burgert, Ede Horvath, Istvan Szabo or the director general of the Skala department stores, Demjen, all of whom were awarded the State Prize this year--are individuals who are creative within the existing institutional system and who are capable of making their decisions independently. Our institutional system not only allows but requires such modes of operation, such people--the numerous instances of conservative conduct notwithstanding.

[Question] I am tempted to say that the whole reform issue revolves around one fundamental problem. I feel that regional and nationwide reforms must be implemented precisely by those managers who might then--as a result of the victory of innovation--lose their jobs. Frequently, the introduction of reforms is expected of those whose very existence depends on whether or not the old system is maintained.

[Answer] Most of the leading individuals are capable of implementing reforms and of modernizing themselves and the institutions controlled by them. And this is decidedly in their interest, for in doing so they consolidate their own moral and material existence. So they are not interested--your question was illogical--in preserving the old, outdated conditions. On the contrary: They are interested in adapting to the present requirements. We are trying to create conditions--and if you attentively read the documents of the last party congress, you will learn that this is so--that encourage or even compel the managers to make independent and quicker decisions. Are there people who oppose the reforms? Undoubtedly, such people exist. Any fossilized, developmentally arrested individual is an obstacle to innovation. Naturally, a certain degree of habituation is an integral part of human nature. For example, I am often told that some people are reluctant to move, even though they have been offered a better apartment, just because they have become accustomed to the old apartment. What I am saying is that we must approach people with patience; if we do not convince the people, overly radical changes will not contribute to progress.

[Question] How do you determine that a certain individual holding a key position is unqualified for the job, for accomplishing the tasks required?

[Answer] Individuals in positions of leadership are likewise subject to the performance principle. As a result of the reform and the development of society, we can evaluate more accurately and directly the operations and results of a plant or

enterprise. These factors describe the management as well; they indicate whether it is qualified or unqualified. In this respect, I attach the greatest importance to democracy, that is to say, to the judgment of the employees, and I cannot imagine a judgment that would be more severe. The people are less and less willing to accept a situation where the secretary, the council chairman, the plant director, the chairman of the cooperative or another functionary act against their interests. I admit that in our country the supersession of such individuals could be a more rapid and less cumbersome procedure. The process has begun; there may be setbacks, but no standstill. In regard to the tasks, there are many differences between the beginnings of the reform of 1968 and the 1980's, notably the fact that the people have undergone 12 years of learning experience; as compared to 12 years ago, they now view the tasks differently and this is reflected in the fact that much more is expected of the functionaries.

[Question] So today the situation is politically less difficult and economically more difficult than 5 years ago?

[Answer] Economically--and perhaps socially as well--the situation is more complicated, because it is more advanced. But I do not by any means want to dramatize the economic difficulties--however serious they may be. The 12th Party Congress emphasized the human factors, since they are of crucial importance for the attainment of our social and economic objectives. Our primary objective is to insure that in all fields of work talent and superior performance are given the appropriate recognition. Our whole economic system, including our price system, is pointing in this direction and is creating increasingly clear social conditions.

[Question] Would you not say it was a mistake that you did not sooner tackle the problem concerning supersession of unqualified managers?

[Answer] For us it is a matter of principle to discuss all personal matters with the collectives, to persuade the people. That costs us a lot of time and perhaps a lot of money as well. But we cannot discontinue this policy; now as before, the humanist principles of our system do not permit that. So we, too, have our limits that we cannot simply overstep. It goes without saying that our objective is to accelerate these processes.

#### The Problems Concerning Armaments

[Question] To what extent can Hungary pursue an autonomous policy?

[Answer] Your question surprises me. So far you have wanted to prove that what is going on in Hungary is very different from events in the other socialist countries, and now you want to call into question our independence? As is demonstrated by concrete events, our policy is completely autonomous. This is conceded by numerous Western observers, i.e. unprejudiced observers without ulterior motives. Many people know that it is through Marxist-Leninist methods, in accordance with Hungary's special conditions, in collaboration with our brothers and friends and in the interest of our socialist objectives that we conduct our foreign policy, our economic, cultural, science and education policy. In this regard, we enjoy the full support of our population, for this socialist policy serves our best and most important national interests.

[Question] I would like to touch upon another subject. The fact that in the past few years Austria has produced better economic results can perhaps be attributed to Austria's having practically no military expenditures.

[Answer] If socialism had the say, we would not have any military expenditures either.

[Question] Austria's defense budget is frequently discussed by the Austrian public. Many people say it is too small. Aside from Luxembourg, Austria is the country with the smallest defense budget in Europe. In regard to development, is it not a factor of great importance when a small country such as Hungary has such a large defense budget?

[Answer] If Hungary and the socialist countries had the say, they would definitely champion universal and total disarmament. The expansion of armaments was imposed on us; we cannot do anything about it.

One must keep in mind the vital point. In your journal, there is criticism concerning the interpretation of the ideological struggle. We are convinced that no nation can be forced from the outside to effect a social transformation, in other words that revolutions cannot be exported. In the West, on the other hand, there is a campaign advocating termination of the ideological struggle and opposing the dissemination of socialist ideas—which campaign produces in uninformed individuals the impression that we do nothing but plan the movements and uprisings in the Third World. Not a word of this is true. These peoples have their own freedom and independence movements and this is one of the basic characteristics of our epoch. Naturally, these movements welcome any support for their struggle for national independence, for progress. We did not fan the uprising against Somoza; the support the dictatorship received from the United States possibly exacerbated the situation, transforming the uprising into a life-and-death struggle. It was not we who unleashed the Iranian revolution. And we have never forced our assistance on people who did not request it. But we are on the side of progress and by the means available to us we will help those oppressed peoples who expect support from us.

[Question] In your opinion, can one categorically rule out the possibility that the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact states may commit an error in the field of foreign policy? Is it only the West that makes the mistakes?

[Answer] It is hardly necessary to answer this question. We are human beings and we do not consider ourselves infallible. Instead, let us examine the character of the basic processes that determine all actions. The actions of the West are determined by a state of consciousness that was produced not only by the spread of socialism after World War II, but also by the fact that in the past 30 years several West European countries lost their huge colonial empires. Two new worlds have emerged: the socialist world and the world of the former colonies, which attained national independence. In the beginning, there was the Truman doctrine, which aimed at destroying the Soviet Union. In his diary, the American president holding office at that time wrote about the plan concerning annihilation of the Soviet Union and he did so at a time—after World War II—when the United States, which had grown richer than ever and which was expanding its enormous nuclear industry and its agriculture, was facing a tormented, ravaged Soviet Union that had lost 20 million people in the war. Where and when have the United States changed its



domestic or foreign policy? Over the past decades, its failures have been demonstrated by an inflation that has turned into stagflation, by millions of unemployed; the riots in Florida proved that the race problem, which the United States plays down as ghetto problems, are still acute--there does not seem to be any solution, any way out.

And foreign policy? America supported the system of the Shah and that of Somoza up to the last minute. It helped the Fascists in Chile to seize power. Ratification of the SALT II Agreement was shelved. In the present election campaign, the candidates are outdoing each other with their demands for more and more armaments, armaments that threaten the whole world.

[Question] All their mistakes and naivete notwithstanding, the Americans have some kind of capacity for self-purification. For example, Johnson was not renominated after Vietnam.

[Answer] At the 20th Party Congress, the historically young Soviet Union mustered up the strength to own up to its mistakes. An erroneous attitude on the part of the United States is their truculent hostility toward the Soviet Union. In regard to this position, they are prepared to ally themselves with anybody. The American president--the third president to do so--wants to play what is called the Chinese card. To be a Soviet citizen and to live next to China is totally different from being an Austrian, Hungarian or Frenchman. Just imagine what it would be like if there existed next to the United States a gigantic country that had five times as many inhabitants and that openly declared its intention to destroy America at any price.

[Question] Mr Deputy Premier, do you know how small is China's national income? How could such a backward country be a threat to the powerful Soviet Union?

[Answer] You have to calculate differently! Remember the words of Mao Zedong: War is inevitable--no matter whether or not it will kill 400 million Chinese, hundreds of millions will stay alive. I frequently talk to Soviet citizens. They all feel uneasy about living next to a country that attacks Vietnam and says: That was necessary--we had to teach them a lesson.

[Question] But just now an attack is being launched on Mao Zedong's entire life-work.

[Answer] But the principle concerning the inevitability of war has been retained and the hatred against the Soviet Union is still being fomented. In 1959, on the occasion of a state visit, our delegation was received by Mao. A member of our delegation said at that time: Comrade Mao, if you maintain this rate of development, you will catch up with us and even overtake us within 5 years. Mao replied: Whether it will take us 5 years or 40 before we reach your present level, it is all the same to us--but will you still exist then?

Naturally, in 1959 when I was there, I viewed the China problem very differently as compared to the 1960's, and presently my view has changed again. But one thing is certain: The Soviet Union--a country that lost 20 million people, where every family mourns its hero--speaks differently about war and peace. For the Soviet Union, the primary objective is to insure favorable conditions for peaceful development.

[Question] We will see what kind of policy the Soviet Union will be pursuing in Afghanistan.

[Answer] I recently talked to a French statesman and I said that there is a chronology that begins with the birth of Christ and another chronology that begins with the French Revolution, etc. You can rest assured that in connection with Afghanistan no new chronology will be introduced. Afghanistan serves as an excuse for the anti-Soviet hysteria, for the American propaganda. Just look at the way the well-known presence of Soviet advisers in Cuba was all of a sudden played up and how it was used to unleash mass hysteria! These campaigns do not serve the interests of the American people; they serve the interests of certain ruling circles. We would be very happy if the security of the world could be insured at a lower armaments level. It would be better yet if this arms race were discontinued altogether.

On 'Hegemony' and 'Dissidents'

[Question] In Hungary's present-day cultural life, what does the concept of "Marxist hegemony" stand for? Do there exist in Hungary the so-called "dissidents" or "oppositionists"? If they exist, what political trends do they reflect, what is their political significance? If no such people exist, why not? Is there censorship in Hungary?

[Answer] We are making allowance for the fact that there exist--aside from Marxists and oppositionist individuals--several intermediate intellectual-political trends, which ideologically are not yet or not quite socialist, but which are not antisocialist. In our relations with these people, we are striving for hegemony. This concept of hegemony applies to the cultural sector and to the social sciences, to the field of ideology in general. Marxism-Leninism is not a state religion; its primacy is not imposed from above; rather, it is attained through effort.

The party of the working class, the Communist Party, shapes its policy so as to protect the interests of all working people; it feels responsible for all citizens, for the entire population. This is a reflection of a certain power situation; we have no reason bashfully to hide this. But it would be wrong to think that as a result of this situation every member of our society will affirm the Marxist worldview. The hegemony of Marxism within the framework of our social system is a fact; it is an active hegemony that encourages discussion and further development. In our country, the cause of socialism is supported by a large number of people who believe in God or who adhere to various petit-bourgeois or bourgeois ideas or principles of life. We take note of and heed reality. In the period of transition from capitalism to socialism--the period in which we live--this situation is likely to persist for a long time. I would consider it premature to wonder about a time when Marxism will have become a universally valid worldview in our society. In the face of the continued existence of ideological differences, we are fighting for a national unity that is committed to the socialist objectives.

Thus hegemony comprises permanent discussion and a continuous dialog among the Marxists and between Marxists and non-Marxists, socialists and nonsocialists--a discussion that grants space to the other side and that responsibly weighs critical words and statements. The essence of socialist hegemony is to understand and convince the other side, to defend and enhance the leading role of the socialist ideas.



This is not only a theoretical principle of our cultural policy; this is what we practice. It is said--and we do act in this way--that we are primarily interested in the development of qualitatively better, progressive cultural values that enrich socialism and that we are working toward this. It is not only people we care for, but also works of art; we do not revere any "holy cows"; rather, we respect the creators of good works of art. We consider it the right and the obligation of art responsibly to criticize our reality, and in accordance with this view we support serious experiments and encourage diverse styles. There is no contradiction between the struggle for socialist hegemony and the respect for political loyalty. The West, too, knows very well that in our country there are talents--including those that have been awarded the highest state prize--whom we recognize to a large extent, whose works we publish on a regular basis, but with whom we disagree--at times sharply--in regard to ideological issues.

There is no censorship in our country. The heads of the press organs and other mass media and of the public agencies decide independently what views will be aired. There are a great many candid discussions, in which a variety of views are expressed. This can be verified by anyone. We are deeply committed to presenting the various views--as long as the conceptions in question are not inimical to the system. It is only through such an exchange of views that common convictions and a collective will can be developed.

Beyond our own values, we appreciate and give publicity to any humanist value--irrespective of its origins and of the religious, bourgeois or other ideological trappings it may carry. In this regard, too, we are tolerant. It is a fact that we publish a great deal of the West's intellectual output, including superfluous works. But at bottom, the results are positive: Our society has become immune against many influences; the "forbidden" things have lost much of their magic attraction. But this does not by any means signify an uncritical attitude; it does not mean that we accept views that we consider erroneous, that we will give up the discussions.

In this regard, we think it is necessary to point out the matters we restrict and prohibit. This relatively narrow category comprises those reactionary endeavors that attack the foundations of the social system--in other words, endeavors that violate the constitution. This includes war-mongering, the dissemination of views opposed to peace and hostile to mankind, fascist and racist ideas. Incidentally, even some capitalist countries do not tolerate such endeavors and they are prohibited by the UN Charter.

You tend to "confuse" the opposition with those who advocate a worldview divergent from ours. With the latter, we maintain a constant dialog; we consider them to be on our side. As for the "dissidents" or the opposition: In every society, there are individuals--among them writers and artists--whose plans have been frustrated and who have difficulty adapting to the new conditions. These are persons who in the face of conflicts always blame society, never themselves. Frequently, the so-called dissidents are people of this type, but they are very few in number.

The weight and significance ascribed to them by like-minded individuals in the West usually are not based on their intellectual and artistic achievements, but on the political role that they use to chum up to the enemy. The frequently ridiculous

overestimation of these individuals, which is at variance with any value-based assessment, the artificial nimbus they are accorded reflect the unscrupulousness of anticommunism, which considers anyone a great mind who subscribes to the propaganda directed against us--a propaganda that surely cannot be considered evidence of our value system's instability. Among these people, there are untalented individuals and developmentally arrested semitalents, whom the mass media elevate to the rank of great artist. It is not the socialist society, but the organizers of these propaganda campaigns who should be ashamed of this peculiar assessment. In the socialist society, in present-day Hungary, there is no real literary talent that is kept down for political reasons. If certain talents drift over to the other shore just the same, we regret this, not least on account of the bitter fate that befalls most of these individuals when they can no longer be exploited by the sensationalists. Now as before, we say that the way back is open to each of them.

So in Hungary there is no opposition worth mentioning. The opposition that attacks the basic institutions of socialism and that wants capitalism does not have any social support, if only because of the fact that in our country there is no significant stratum that would negate or repudiate our system's foundations, goals, methods and style of work.

It goes without saying that we do not regard as an oppositionist every person whose view of our country differs from that of the Party, the government and the majority of the population and who differs in that he or she calls into question individual problems concerning the construction of socialism, the efficiency of the practical problem-solving process and the priorities established--not the substance of socialism. With such individuals, we conduct a dialog and we thank them for their useful comments and suggestions.

The composition of this numerically small oppositionist group, which in regard to the personal histories of its members shows great diversity, is notable for certain specific characteristics: It includes individuals who are attracted to certain institutions of bourgeois democracy. But the majority of these persons are not enthusiastic about exploitation and they do not want to bring back the big land-owners. The great number of agents provocateurs, who through launching violent, terrorist attacks on the bourgeois system want forcibly to establish a dictatorship, are a dangerous burden on the society of the Western countries. The Hungarian public not only does not support these terrorist attempts; it absolutely condemns them. But in our country, too, there are some individuals--very few I should say--of the agent provocateur type, but their mode of operation is different, more "gentle." They likewise say: "The nastier, the better"; that is to say, that the system should be provoked so that it "takes off the kid gloves and shows its iron claws." It is surprising that this attitude is supported in the Western world; the significance and the influence of an opposition pursuing such objectives are magnified nearly a hundredfold. In this process, the opposition is celebrated as the protagonist of freedom. It is granted freedom of movement and opportunities for communication. It is typical that Western news agencies make a great fuss as soon as 184 oppositionists in Budapest sign some kind of provocative letter of protest; but they did not publish the Budapest Peace Appeal, even though it contained the protest--formulated in the interest of peace--of millions of Hungarian citizens against the latest American armaments plans. Such conduct represents interference in the internal affairs of our nation; it cannot influence our actions and decisions, since no outsider may interfere in our affairs.

[Question] In connection with the aforementioned protests, a number of people have now lost their jobs--by order of the authorities. At least this is what I have been told. I have also been told that someone who was looking for a job went to a factory or somewhere, where they consulted a list and told that person they could not hire him. So there was a list, did you know that?

[Answer] Do you really believe all the stories you hear? And these stories are so vague that you cannot name anything specific.

[Question] There is one thing I do not understand. In your country, no one was arrested for signing the protest against the sentences in the CSSR. So why was it necessary to revoke agreements?

[Answer] In this respect, there is no central decree. Nor is it true that the people in question are persecuted. Many of these individuals live quite well; quite a few of them would not change places with me as far as incomes are concerned. Among them, there are some very good translators who work very hard and who make a lot of money. Others are drifters, loafers, who cannot find their place, who naturally are not welcomed anywhere. It may also happen that after the necessary, efficiency- and modernization-oriented reorganization the director of the institution says he does not need such rotters. And is it really inconceivable that a director or a collective have a spontaneous aversion to individuals who carelessly and irresponsibly want to discard the achievements of our nation? It is unlikely that someone showing a destructive attitude is a constructive worker.

[Question] Well, I only asked you whether there was a centrally controlled move? If it was a centrally controlled measure, it would apply to 184 people.

[Answer] There was and there is no such thing. Just yesterday, I read in MAGYAR NEMZET a--bad--article by one of them. Others have expressed their views in KRITIKA. But no matter what paper you read, you right away find a "signatory"; their books, too, are being published by the state.

[Question] Is it true that in regard to this matter there was a diplomatic note, a protest on the part of the CSSR?

[Answer] I have never heard or seen anything of that nature--there was no Czechoslovak protest. Incidentally, it never fails to surprise me that the West considers these people the realistic thinkers of the East. Just watch our television programs, listen to our radio! Read the weeklies and the dailies--they are full of criticism and revelations. We not only tolerate the critical interpretation of reality; we encourage it. This is not contradicted by the fact that we dispute erroneous views and dubious ideas propagated by these authors.

[Question] In the journal ELET ES IRODALOM, I read the "classical" statement: "The wages are not sufficient to live on, but one can feather one's nest with the incidental earnings."

[Answer] It is a literary punch line, which resembles that of a good joke: There is a kernel of truth, but the rest is not entirely true. In Hungary, the people live by their wages and by the income derived from honest work--income that has many forms and sources. Those who have sufficient time and energy, can hold--aside



from their main job--a socially useful secondary job and this is entirely legitimate. In their spare time, the workers can legitimately render services and carry out repairs, while the farmers are permitted--aside from their work in the common fields of the LPG [agricultural production cooperatives]--to work the so-called domestic plots for themselves and for the market. Unfortunately, in some occupational categories in Hungary, above all in the service sector, tipping is practiced to excess. In some jobs in the health service sector, tips are given as a "token of gratitude"; the truth is, however, that this is not applicable to the 42 percent of the doctors who work in laboratories, research institutes and x-ray stations; rather, it is applicable to those engaged in direct therapy. One of the reasons for this is the universal free medical care. Then there are people who fraudulently abuse the given opportunities. For this reason, our principles and moral norms make a rigorous distinction in regard to incomes: No matter how much money an individual makes--if that income is derived from work, it is considered honest income. But any income--however small it may be--that is earned by fraudulent means is considered dishonest income, dishonest profit.

[Question] How do you view the future? To what extent does the political stability, the good atmosphere you mentioned depend on the fact that Janos Kadar holds the office of first secretary?

[Answer] There is no doubt that Janos Kadar is an historic personality, not only because he assumed--at an historical turning point--leadership of the Party and of the country, but above all because he turned out to be the right man. If I may put it in such terms, it is the historic good fortune of our nation to have found the right leader, who aside from his good personal qualities has the crucial ability to learn from history, to perceive the requirements of reality, to view matters in terms of long-range development, to make the people accept the tasks confronting the nation and to reconcile the different elements of our society. The fate of Janos Kadar has always been the fate of his people. Through his own experience, he knows the last 50 years of the history of the Hungarian people: the misery and the suffering of the Horthy era; the raging of fascism; the imprisonment; the ordeal of World War II; the joy of liberation and the distortions of the period of the personality cult. One can say that in many respects his personal history coincides with the history of our working class and our nation. This enormous experience and knowledge was a contributing factor in the development of his personality, but at the same time he retained the good qualities of the worker. Janos Kadar has always adhered to a fundamental principle: He feels it is impossible to do the political work without the people; the good leader is not the one who makes his decisions independently; rather, it is imperative that more and more people participate in the decision-making process and in the implementation of these decisions. Kadar considers the Party not a controlling force, but an organization serving the people. All of his efforts are aimed at getting as many people as possible to support the policy of the USAP and actively and imaginatively to promote and advance it. I am not saying that socialist democracy is already perfect, but I would like to point out that our democracy is now so strong that no one would be able to prevent us from attaining our basic objectives. In this regard, there has taken place a development which in the minds of the people has merged with the personality of Janos Kadar and in which the role played by certain personalities, above all by Janos Kadar, is indisputable. The most important factor is that this country has learned to appreciate its assets (albeit modestly), to fight for its development and to face up to its mistakes.

[Question] Are there political prisoners in Hungary?

[Answer] There are no political prisoners; to be sure, some capitalist papers regard as "political" prisoners those who under the influence of alcohol smash up the furniture of a tavern and shout "Pfeilkreuzler" [not further identified] slogans and who on account of this are sentenced to--let us say--3 months' imprisonment.

[Question] I am asking this question, because I believed, because I was convinced that there are political prisoners. According to an article published in the emigration or Samizdat press, Hungary's Attorney General actually quoted some figures.

[Answer] I think that if there existed in Hungary just one political prisoner, the Western press would already have played up that fact. To be sure, our laws prohibit agitation. And we do not tolerate any situation where an individual might be branded just because he or she happens to be--let us say--a gypsy. But this is not persecution of differently minded individuals; it is a legitimate safeguarding of the public order that does not violate civil liberties.

#### On the Threat of War

[Question] Do you fear that war may break out?

[Answer] When I used to fly in two-engine planes, I always tried to locate the emergency exit. In the present-day supersonic planes, I no longer care about that. Should a catastrophe occur, there won't be any emergency exits. I feel it is not simply a question of war; rather, there may be crises that would arrest social development. At the present level of development, the Cold War of the 1950's cannot be repeated, if only because of the fact that in the Third World, too, there will be tensions and explosions that will open up new front lines; not to mention the fact that in the United States false nuclear alerts are becoming more and more frequent. But the growing force of the desire for peace is a world-political fact; I trust we will be able to maintain peace.

[Question] It is true, we know about the American nuclear alerts, but we are not told anything, when such mistakes happen in the Soviet Union.

[Answer] The danger of technical errors is omnipresent, what with this dangerous accumulation of armaments; but if such blunders were committed in the Soviet Union, you would certainly get to know about it. But there is one thing I would like to emphasize. During my visits to the Soviet Union, I met and talked with all types of people: The Soviet people, the Soviet leadership are doing their utmost to prevent war; they fervently desire disarmament.

There is not a single Soviet general who would want to start a war. Having gone through horrible suffering, this nation wants nothing but peace--as is evidenced by the declarations made by Brezhnev. But it is not only Brezhnev who wants peace. In the Soviet Union, no one owns war industry stocks--neither the leaders nor the common people. For the Soviet Union, disarmament would be a great advantage; by no means would it be a loss.



[Question] At present, the Soviet Union's national income is half as big as that of the United States, and yet it spends more on armaments.

[Answer] The socialist world must protect itself. The Soviet Union is not willing to waste a single kopeck.

[Question] Here we are getting into value judgments. And that exceeds my competence; such a discussion would go beyond the framework of this interview.

[Answer] But let me point out to you—and this fact will not exceed your logic—that the Soviet Union is not in the least interested in war. It is not the Soviet Union that invented colonization, that unleashed a world war; the first decree the Soviet Union passed upon establishing its national identity was concerned with peace.

[Question] The Soviet Union is not interested in war, but—it is sliding into it; nor are Afghanistan or Cuba interested in war...

[Answer] But do you deny that in the United States many people are interested in the armaments industry?

[Question] They may be interested in the stocks of the armaments industry, but as far as war is concerned...

[Answer] The war industry is interested in replacing the weapons systems every 7 years.

[Question] That, too, is not so simple a problem. No one would assume that American capitalism is devoid of realistic leaders.

[Answer] Unfortunately, in the present situation even some segments of the well-meaning, but misguided masses fear unemployment more than war. In our country, total disarmament would be a threat to no one. I believe in socialism as the future of mankind.

[Question] I do not want to meddle in the internal affairs of Poland, but I would like to ask whether any conclusions could be drawn from the Polish events in regard to Hungary's policy?

[Answer] There is a valid principle we always observe: It is necessary to study both the international and the domestic experience, to learn from both the good and the bad and seriously to consider the lessons taught by socialist construction. We must not consider our people a guinea pig; we must collaborate with the people. We have always done so—even after the serious conflict of 1956. In this way, we succeeded in forging the national unity that is reflected in a harmonious and concentrated force unifying the people, and we were able further to consolidate the system of socialist democracy—the socialist democracy that is characterized by independent trade unions and by respectful cooperation between the mass movements and the churches. It is precisely the practical application of experience that taught us to be eternally dissatisfied and continuously to improve our methods so as to insure harmonious relations and stable cooperation with our people.

It is likewise quite natural that the socialist countries, including Hungary, lend diverse moral and political assistance to the Polish people and the Polish party and state leaders, who are engaged in solving the present problems. In this respect, our countries are convinced that the Polish people--and no one but the Polish people--can solve its problems and regulate its affairs. We are certain that the Polish people will find the right socialist methods for solving its problems.

[Question] What Kafka said about truth could be said about socialism as well: "Even though there is only one truth, it is a living thing and thus--like life--it has many faces."

[Answer] I agree with that. Indeed, I hope that socialism will change and develop. It is not only in its dialectical philosophy that it recognizes development as a primary value; it actually changes things in accordance with its capacities, its nature, its opportunities. We are certain that in regard to further enrichment and ambitious development, the changes socialism will undergo will exceed all we can presently imagine--and we are surely not lacking in imagination. And as socialism spreads, it will become more variegated and colorful.

[Question] Theoretically, would setbacks such as occurred in 1953 and 1954 be conceivable?

[Answer] Theoretically, anything is conceivable. But I feel that our people have developed and matured and that their desire for positive changes has become so strong that this could not happen.

[Question] In one of his last articles, Lenin drew attention to the necessity to fight bureaucracy.

[Answer] Yes, that is a continuous struggle...

[Question] But in your country, too, bureaucracy is omnipresent. Each of the diverse organizations maintains the same departments and functions. The country is small; everybody knows everybody else and yet every project involves more people than would be necessary. This goes for the press and for other sectors. The bureaucracy is gigantic.

[Answer] I am somewhat surprised that you equate the existence of bureaucracy with socialism. Parkinson based his famous book about the irrationality of bureaucracy on the experience he gained in your society. If I'm informed correctly, the book by Peter, which created a stir 2 years ago, likewise criticizes the excesses of capitalist bureaucracy and claims that everyone is continually promoted until he or she reaches a level at which the requirements exceed the individual's capacities and then the individual is simply left there. Why should I deny it: As long as there is administration, we will have the specter of bureaucracy. I feel that to some extent this is inevitable, while some of it could perhaps have been prevented. At any rate, we must fight it. We are also facing the threat of excessive social organization and we must keep trying to simplify matters wherever this is feasible. Incidentally, we have already produced a few models concerning elimination of organizational excesses.

[Question] Can you cite some examples?

[Answer] Plants, enterprises, institutions. It is no secret that in the sciences there are thousands of superfluous people who should work instead in industry and agriculture, since in those sectors scientific experts are in short supply. In this respect, regrouping is called for.

[Question] But how about those who are not qualified for any particular job, those who can only perform supervisory functions?

[Answer] During the period after the liberation, individuals who were in favor of our building a new life—workers, farmers, salaried employees, members of the intelligentsia—had to be assigned to supervisory jobs they were not trained for. Today there are only very few individuals who do not have the appropriate schooling, i.e. who do not have the engineering or other degree required by the job in question. Incidentally, those individuals who proved themselves to be competent have been retained.

[Question] But many of them gave up their original occupation on account of the promotion, for the sake of the career. Consequently, they now hold positions in the People's Front, in the trade unions, etc.

[Answer] You are wrong if you think that the mass movements and representative organs are rest homes—that is simply not true; there are no such sanitariums in our country. But those who in their jobs can no longer keep up with modern developments are transferred to other functions in the domestic economy or in the state apparatus, where they still can do useful work. We have the political courage and the determination to tackle the task of regrouping, but we want to accomplish this in a deeply humane way; we do not want to forget the social services these people have rendered. Incidentally, it is characteristic that in your question you referred exclusively to high-ranking individuals who rose from the masses and even in this regard your generalization is inappropriate. These matters cannot be settled through decrees alone. A very important factor in this regard—and I would say fortunately—is the increasingly intensive force of circumstances. Socialism, too, aspires to efficiency; the system is assuming a new look, it is undergoing development. For this reason, we are opposing all attempts aimed at bringing on the Cold War. It is only through detente that the development of democracy and of freedom can be accelerated. On the one hand, you accuse us of ignoring human rights and on the other hand you say we are too tolerant vis-a-vis mistakes. We cannot and we do not want to treat people with a brutality that would be humiliating. I myself consider it my personal responsibility to help those who through no fault of their own have fallen behind in the rush toward modernization.

[Question] There are certainly a great many tasks—and that applies to the top as well.

[Answer] We still have a long way to go and I do not think that we will ever reach the end of this road.

## Nationalism Is Perilous

[Question] All over the world, people point to the intensification of nationalism. Is it true that nationalism is growing in Hungary as well? Or is there only a healthy national consciousness? To what extent are the Hungarians living in neighboring countries a political, moral or national problem for Hungary, for the Hungarians in those countries and for Hungary's political leadership?

[Answer] We consider nationalism to be extremely dangerous in the present-day world, a world which has been shrinking as well as expanding. As for an honest national consciousness, we respect it and consider it progressive, for socialism, too, develops within a national framework. We regard as justified the national pride that is based on the genuine values of both the past and the present. But we consider and condemn as nationalism any endeavor or concept that overtly or covertly encourages contempt for other peoples--in its extreme forms, racial hatred--falsification of national histories, approval of pseudovalues, chauvinist attitudes.

The danger of nationalism is present in Hungary as well. One need only recall that after World War I the imperialists of the Entente reduced the territory of defeated Hungary--partly in retaliation for the Soviet-based republic--to one-third of its former size, and it is partly for this reason (and partly for other reasons) that one-third of the Hungarian people live outside our borders.

Nationalism escalated, because the Horthy regime responded chauvinistically to the difficult socioeconomic problems of the country. For a quarter century, this regime contaminated our people by fomenting nationalist and chauvinist passions.

We terminated this evil, mendacious tradition. It is on the basis of our Marxist principles, of the real interests of our nation that we have been shaping our relations with our neighbors and with the nationalities living within our borders. During the period after the liberation, it was difficult--on account of the well-known political distortions--to make the first steps: The Swabian population suffered from excesses, and subsequently serious encroachments occurred vis-a-vis the South Slavic minority. Today all this is merely an instructive memory. The present-day conditions are characterized by the fact that both the German-speaking and the South Slavic people in Hungary have found a home in the country. The other nationalities likewise regard as theirs the soil on which they were born and on which they live and work. We consistently guarantee the rights of the national minorities; we guarantee use of the native tongue, preservation of the national culture, opportunities for learning, expansion and development of the relations with the homeland. Thus, rather than perpetuating or reviving the old antagonisms, these nationalities further cooperation and rapprochement. They function as a connecting link, as a bridge and we are committed to helping them perform this function, partly because we know: As the general well-being of its citizens--including the national minorities--improves, a country gains in strength.

In spite of all these advances, we have not yet been able totally to eradicate nationalism. We do not deny that in this field there exist unsolved problems and tensions. We talk with all those who do not take a correct view of the national question. We also talk with those who consider this problem the only crucial national issue. It is wrong to single out one problem and put off solution of the



others. We must not create in Europe a tense, negative situation, where everything stagnates. It is necessary to engage in discussion with those who are on the wrong track, but with prejudiced chauvinists we have nothing in common. We feel our task is to set an influential example, not to sow hatred. One of our objectives is to build an efficient, rational economic system, to improve the quality of life of the entire society, to create a life that is truly worth living. All this calls for a truly socialist policy that is in accord with the interests of the nation and also for a good nationality policy. In our view, it is only internationalism--the internationalism that presently is becoming increasingly influential everywhere--that can settle the complex problems in connection with the national question. Violation of the principles of internationalism hurts not only the national minority, but also the nation in question. But however close we feel to the Hungarians living in other countries, we know full well that the fate of our people depends on what we accomplish at home; it depends on whether we succeed in building a socialist Hungary that we can take pride in and that boosts our self-esteem.

We condemn any attitude that responds nationalistically to nationalism. It is a new but by no means surprising phenomenon that such attitudes are encouraged by circles outside our borders, above all by extremist emigre groups in the United States, but also by certain official circles of that country who are pursuing a deceitful policy: What they tell one country differs from what they tell another country. They are not interested in eliminating the friction that occasionally arises among the countries; rather, they want to intensify it. We are convinced that those who are taken in by such manipulations inflict harm--intentionally or unintentionally--on the Hungarians outside our borders and also on Hungary itself. We never wanted and we still do not want to conceal or sidestep the existing problems; rather, we want to settle them in a friendly, socialist way. We consider this our own business--we do not need any uninvited, foreign "helpers", nor do we need people who pose as the guardians of the national conscience.

#### Austria and Hungary

[Question] In the last few years, the relations between Austria and Hungary have been developing very favorably. Is this attributable to certain personalities, to specific political conditions? If not, what historical, cultural and political factors are they based on?

[Answer] To a large extent, the development of the relations depends on certain individuals, on the given state leaders, at least insofar as they recognize the historic necessity of normalizing and expanding these relations and insofar as they try to preserve those of the undoubtedly existing traditions behind the relations that will promote neighborly relations today and in the future.

Historically, our relations are not free from contradictions. In the past, there was a fair amount of friction between Hungarians and Austrians, but there were also unifying factors and aspirations. A great many Hungarians were opposed to the absolutism of the Habsburg dynasty and to the counterreformation, but they sympathized with the element of enlightenment that was present in Austria's intellectual traditions. The traditions of the workers' movement are deeply rooted--our social scientists would find it worthwhile thoroughly to study these traditions and to make people aware of them; for as regards our friendship, our neighborly relations, it is

primarily these traditions that are the life-giving historical roots.

We agree with Federal Chancellor Kreisky: One must learn from history--and we are learning from it. Five years ago, at the Helsinki Conference, Janos Kadar called to mind the fact that for centuries the Hungarian nation was living at the cross-roads of military campaigns; it made immense sacrifices to ensure its continued existence. In the past 500 years, our homeland was reduced to rubble five times. It was only after the victory of the antifascist coalition 35 years ago, after the successful war of liberation waged by the Soviet army that the Hungarian nation attained true, permanent independence. For us, peace and security, friendship and cooperation among the peoples of Europe represent an objective that reflects and serves the vital interests of our nation. The expansion of the economic relations that are based on the good, neighborly (in the true sense of the word) political atmosphere has enabled us to put on the agenda the joint examination of the feasibility of new, long-term forms of large-scale cooperation. The abolition of the visa requirement was an important step in regard to the rapprochement of our two nations and the expansion of our lively relations. We can justly regard as exemplary the relations between Austria and Hungary. The significance of their exemplary relations--like that of the relations between Hungary and Finland--far transcends the national borders of these countries. This is extremely important. We are cramped up on a small planet and every single step--however small--is significant.

We hope our Austrian neighbors and friends will not regard as boastful the view that the developing relations between our two countries--which are about to be expanded further--are of great significance in regard to international relations in general. They can testify to the fact that common sense inevitably defeats all malicious motives and all prejudices oriented toward alarmism and unnecessary confrontation. Perhaps we will be able with our modest capacities and means to show by example how to create a rational, humane world in which peace is not jeopardized. There should be no competition but humane competition. Let us give each other the chance to demonstrate under peaceful conditions: the better and more efficient system that will lead society to a humane life, to a humane way of thinking, to the apogee of human morality. We believe in man's reason and greatness and we believe that our society is attractive and that from a historical point of view it is the only alternative that ensures a safe development of mankind. We neither deny our difficulties nor do we live without worries, for upon attainment of a new level of development the new tasks and requirements call for the elimination of new tensions and for implementation of new projects. We know from experience that to do our work we must constantly improve our state of preparation, heighten our attentiveness and make our actions ever more comprehensive. If we had to work only as much as was required 30 years ago, we could possibly work happily and light-heartedly. But in a constructive way, we are both satisfied and dissatisfied. We are dissatisfied, because we are trying to obtain something better; and we are satisfied, because we live in the energizing tension generated by a rational mode of operation, because socialism imparts meaning to man's creative work and provides it with opportunities.

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## ROLE OF UNION STEWARDS, FACTORY FOREMEN DEFINED

Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 15 Feb 81 p 6

[Article by Jeno Toth: "Key People"]

[Text] The role, functions and responsibilities of union shop stewards have increased substantially in the last 5 years. Union stewards became the key people in trade union work. We mention only as a reminder the 1976 Council of Ministers decree increasing the rights of shop stewards and, through them, the trade union membership, in the resolution of questions related to the workplace, especially with regard to distribution and the working and living conditions of employees. One year later, rights of representation were expanded further while union stewards were promoted to members of leading bodies and put in charge of base organization activities by the Joint MT-SZOT [Council of Ministers-National Council of Trade Unions] resolution No 1018 on the development of democracy in the workplace and, more recently, by the 25th congress of Hungarian trade unions and the basic rules of trade unions. This meant that direct and representative democracy were united in the person of the union steward. Just as importantly, his functions include both decisionmaking and implementation.

The union membership elected about 340,000 union stewards and deputy stewards as well as 40,000 chief stewards and deputy chief stewards nationwide in the course of last year's trade union elections.

### The Trade Union Stewards

The union steward is a directly elected representative of the workers. Everything relating to trade union work within the trade union group must be organized and implemented by him together with his group. He cannot evade any question or task which involves, in the final analysis, the dual function of trade unions: helping production and strengthening workers' power, together with organization, education and the representation and safeguarding of worker's interests.

### Their Role and Tasks

Members can turn to him with their problems and difficulties, whether these are private or involve the whole group. The union steward must deal with questions related to production, labor law, working and living conditions (wages, bonuses,

social and cultural facilities, social insurance, work safety, etc.) All tasks related to production within the union movement framework, everything that facilitates the participation of workers in the system of workplace democracy and everything within the realm of social control is under the jurisdiction of the union steward.

The union steward leads the organizational and movement activities of the group, insists on the rights and duties of trade union members, operates the trade union group which exercises an influence over workplace activities and trade union work as a whole by conducting discussions in a well-defined framework, presenting its views, positions and proposals as well as performing a control function.

The person of the union steward is especially important because he is a go-between transmitting the interests, aims and requirements of the membership. He organizes the execution of trade union resolutions. He has the most direct influence over the membership. His aim is to enforce laws and decrees.

In the course of his activities, the union steward uses arguments, explanations and persuasion; in other words, he engages in politics by influencing ideas and behavior in the spirit of party policy, encouraging voluntary social action and responsibility for the community.

Thus, the union steward is a key person in trade union work.

#### His Scope of Authority

Shop stewards have the right of consent in the following areas:

- setting personal base wage levels for workers;
- proposals regarding ministry or higher level decorations and houses;
- awarding of paid extraordinary vacations or bonus vacations;
- housing or housing support provided by the enterprise;
- awarding of social benefits such as personal awards of foreign or domestic holidays through the enterprise, office or trade union with partial or full waiver of vacation costs;
- selecting the recipients of trade union aid payments;
- proposals regarding trade union decorations.

They have a right to present opinions and proposals in all areas related to the workers' living and working conditions, e.g.,

- signing collective contracts (writing labor rules) or modifying earlier ones;
- formulating organizational and operational rules and working procedures;
- judging the activities of their economic manager partners;
- preparation of proposals regarding "Exemplary Worker" awards;
- formulation of production programs at the workplace;
- reorganization of trade union groups;
- granting permissions to engage in secondary employment or a second job;
- calls for overtime or readiness status;
- assignment to school or continued education courses and signing of study contracts;
- prior to transfer or firing of workers;
- in cases of realignment of production norms;



- in investigations and findings of material responsibility (defective or damaged goods);
- in cases of disciplinary proceedings;
- prior to resolution of individual complaints and grievances (labor disputes).

They have rights of control over

- compliance with higher level resolutions and legal provisions concerning living and working conditions for workers;
- compliance with the collective contract, the labor code, organizational and operating rules (procedures) as well as rules concerning job safety, work competition, innovation and seniority procedures;
- checking on the utilization of workers' opinions and proposals within a view towards strengthened democracy in the workplace;
- compliance with provisions protecting working women, women with children and minors;
- implementation of the action plan based on the Youth Act;
- enforcement of obligations assumed pursuant to study contracts.

#### The Foreman

Local compliance with decrees, laws and enterprise agreements adopted in the interests of workers is in everybody's interest. The economic leadership and the foremen cannot do a good job unless workers provide support and help in the fulfillment of their tasks.

The union steward helps in the completion of local production and operational plans and improving production efficiency. In other words, it is his job to ensure that workers understand and identify with production goals. By becoming interested in the fulfillment of these goals, a brigade and work competition movement will emerge on the basis of conscious and voluntary decision.

The relationship between the foreman and the union steward is one of partnership. (When we speak of foremen, we are naturally including all economic, institutional or office managers who, as responsible line managers, direct the work of the membership of the trade union group with the authority of employer.) It is very important to preserve a clear distinction between the authority and tasks of foremen on one hand and union stewards on the other. Their responsibilities are separate: each must carry out the tasks associated with their functions and each must seek cooperation in all areas where local decisions are called for.

The union steward should not wait for the foreman in areas which are of concern to workers. He should take the initiative by presenting his experiences, problems and the mood of the workers to the foreman. He should present the requirements of the workers and they should work jointly toward a resolution.

In his partnership with the foreman, the union steward carries out his role as a representative. He conducts discussions and tries to get his views accepted regarding the distribution, completion and evaluation of work; he represents principles of wage policy and proposals regarding wages, bonuses, plans and provisions regarding social and job safety issues, defends the real interests of group members

as well as their correct aims. When worker interests are taken into consideration and laws, decrees and regulations are followed then this provides incentives for better work, individual ambition and a strengthening of socialist work attitudes.

Of course, the ideal situation is one where the foreman also recognizes his partnership with the union steward, looks him up when he has problems and considers his opinion and proposals. Clearly, this partnership is not free from disputes and disagreements. In such situations, the union steward is the equal of the foreman because he is the representative of the union and its membership. The goal is to ensure that they arrive at a resolution in cases of disagreement on the basis of legal provisions and higher level decisions. They should formulate a joint position and act in a coordinated manner, each in accordance with his own authority and function.

The general experience shows that the majority of economic managers, including foremen, need the observations and critical or encouraging remarks of union stewards. This is true even in cases when such remarks are not always received with enthusiasm. The majority of economic managers has a higher regard for union stewards who are courageous and resolute enough to present their opinions and they prefer them to those who are "neither hot nor cold". The union steward acts as an elected representative of the membership in the common or individual interest. A politically educated manager who is suitable for his post will help and not hinder the steward in his union work.

#### His Protection

Union officeholders are protected by law since they may clash with the economic management in the course of performing their union duties in safeguarding and protecting workers' interests. According to the Labor Code: the labor law protection of elected trade union officials is valid for the duration of the office and for an additional two years following the expiration of such office, except when they are recalled due to unsuitability. For the duration of the labor code protection it is necessary to obtain the approval of the labor union organ directly responsible before disciplinary proceedings may be started against an official.

Upper level trade union organs follow the work of union stewards, deputy stewards, chief stewards and their deputies. They provide protection for them and take a stand in occasional cases where more "sophisticated" forms of retaliation are used against them. The Labor Code states that consent of the higher level trade union authority is necessary for terminating a union steward either by disciplinary procedure or by notice of termination. He cannot be transferred to a different area or job category without consent of higher trade union authority.

This is the legal protection that higher level union authorities can provide for union stewards. Such protection is needed to prevent situations where economic managers can "retaliate" for positions taken as part of union activities, even if such positions were mistaken. There are cases where the higher union authority is unable to agree with the union steward but it must still protect him.

The chief union steward and the trade union committee must constantly make sure that union stewards are not being discriminated against in terms of wages, advancement or other areas.

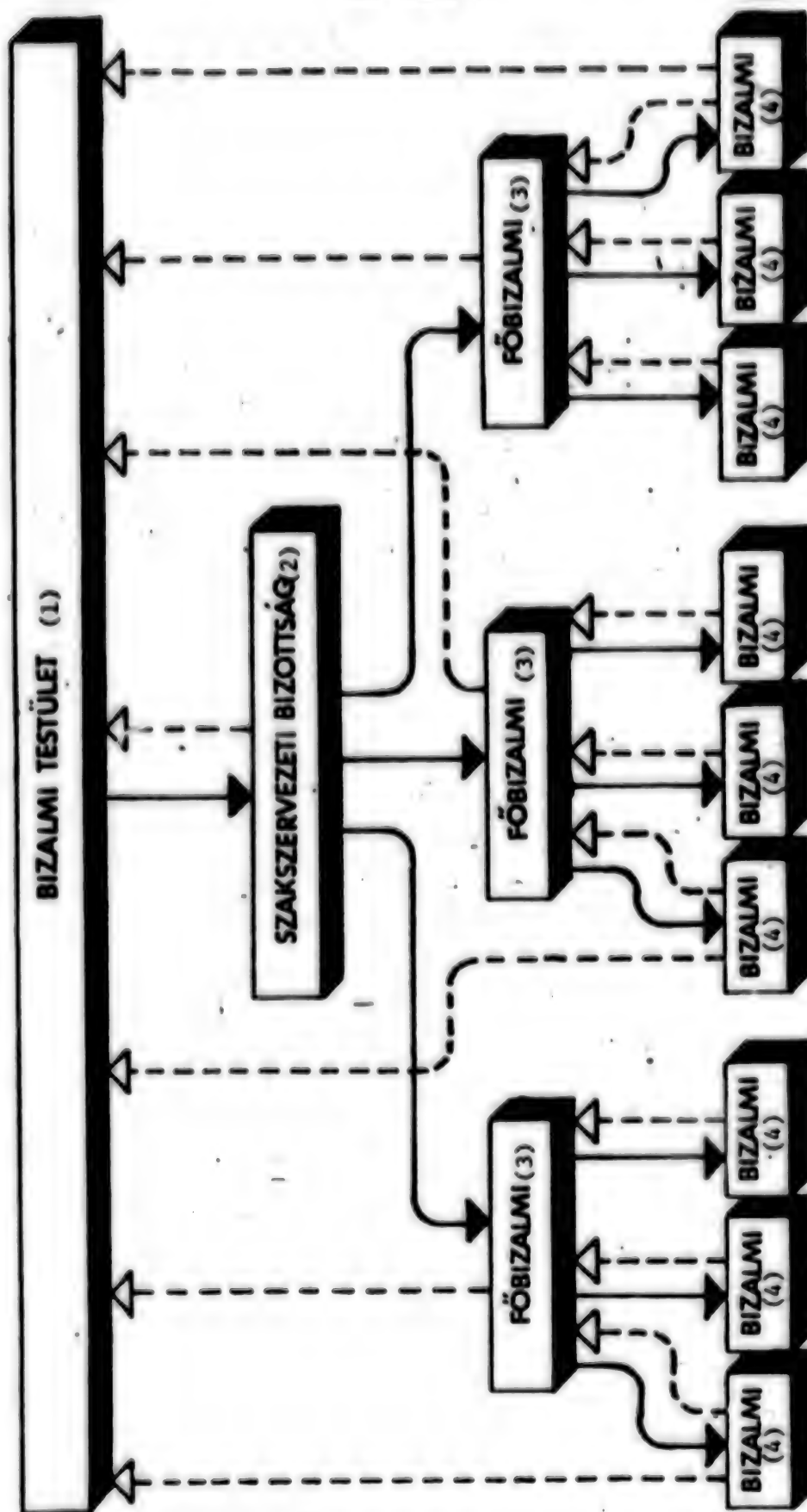
Union stewards, being important officials in trade union work, deserve recognition, moral and political support as well as effective protection because their work is in the interest of society. On the other hand, union stewards must accept criticism for mistakes they have made.

His situation is most favorable when the group takes his side on the basis of his good work and trade union activity.

#### His Protectors

1. In cases where analyzed meetings are held:
  - the deputy steward, the union steward, the deputy chief steward, the chief steward, the social work committee and, in case of trade committees, the trade union committee;
  - members of the trade union committee, members of the auditing committee, the social work committees, heads of trade committees, and, in the case of the head and members of the enterprise labor executive committee, the megye and Budapest committees of the branch or sector trade unions; trade union committees of trusts and large enterprises operating as medium-scale organizations or, in cases where there are no medium-range organizations, the secretariat of the central committee.
2. In cases where a shop steward assembly is in operation:
  - members of that body, members of the auditing committee, heads of working committees; in the case of the head and members of the labor executive committee, the megye or Budapest committees of the branch or sector trade unions and regional intermediate organizations; shop steward assemblies in trusts and large enterprises operating as medium scale organizations; in cases where there are no intermediate level organizations, the secretariat of the central committee.
  - in cases where a multi-level assembly of shop stewards is in operation, the legal protection of the officials listed in Paragraph 2 is provided by the trade union committee of the shop steward assembly on the next higher level.
3. In the case of deputy union stewards, stewards, deputy chief stewards and chief stewards and members of social work committees who are not members of the shop steward assembly, the trade union committee must be considered the next higher trade union authority. (For workers with several elected trade union offices, the trade union organization entitled to exercise the rights specified in the Labor Code is always the one directly responsible for the highest office held by the person under consideration.)

Schematic structure of the basic organization (the arrows indicate working relationships as well as the flow of information)



1. Shop Steward Assembly
2. Trade Union Council
3. Chief Steward
4. Steward



## KOR'S SMOLAR URGES WEST TO SHOW SUPPORT FOR POLAND

LD241009 Rome AVANTI in Italian 14-15 Dec 80 Culture Supplement p VI

[Article by Aleksander Smolar, Polish Workers' Self-Defense Committee member, entitled: "Polish Workers Today"]

[Text] The sound of marching soldiers reaches us from Poland's borders with the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia and the GDR. It does not reach us from the fourth, Northern, border, only because it is washed by the Baltic Sea. But even there you can now see clearly Soviet ships approaching.

The nightmare atmosphere, already sufficiently real, is being intensified by Western press dispatches and statements by politicians and military leaders. But not only has the intervention not taken place yet, despite the many warnings, but it is not to be taken for granted that it must inevitably take place. As the French say, the worst is not always inevitable. Whether or not it takes place will depend on the attitude of the Polish working class, on its awareness of the limits that cannot be exceeded, but also on its steadfast determination. It will also depend on the Warsaw authorities, on their realism, on their realization that Poland cannot be governed as hitherto. If they accept the reality of the workers, students, intellectuals and peasants--best reflected in the new trade union organizations that are being created--there will be no obstacle to creating national consensus for extricating the country from its present profound economic, social, and political crisis.

Obviously the USSR is not "ready" to recognize the rebuilding of social pluralism guaranteed by institutions, but a responsible and realistic stance on both sides in Poland can raise the cost of an intervention to a prohibitive level for Moscow. Already the country's dimensions and the Poles' political culture guarantee that it would not be a mere public order operation. Furthermore, all the international consequences connected with an intervention must prompt Moscow to be very cautious. The unity of all Poles, including even honest Party members and the uncorrupt and realistically-minded sector of the State apparatus, which places the country's interests above all else, can even further limit the threat of invasion.

A very important role can also be played by the West, by Western public opinion, parties, trade union, and governments. It must be the task of all of us in the West to bring about a considerable increase in the cost of a possible intervention so as to dissuade Moscow from resorting yet again to the Brezhnev doctrine. From this viewpoint, paradoxically, Western reaction strikes us because of the activity

of governments which in recent week have been talking more and more openly about the unacceptability of an invasion and of the consequences which it would create in the various areas of East-West relations. Much more can be done in this field, but even these statements can be considered a promising start. Paradoxically, the public--especially the leftwing--seems to be less active in all this. The very great attention and anxiety are accompanied by a kind of apathy and almost a kind of fatalism--almost a belief that nothing can be done. How is this phenomenon to be explained?

Where have all those who protested against the bloodthirsty Hungarian repression in 1956 gone? Where are the people--many more of them--who protested against the 1968 Czechoslovak intervention? Where are the defenders of human rights in Argentina and Indonesia, Uganda and South Africa? Where are the hundreds of thousands of young people, still morally aware, who protested against the Vietnam war, the Chilean dictatorship, and many other instances of the abuse of power and injustice? Why are they making themselves seen and heard so weakly now when, according to the opinion of the State Department, the PCI, NATO, and the Western press, the threat of a Soviet intervention looms over Poland? Where are the Western trade unionists and workers, where are their feelings of internationalist solidarity and why do we hear only--and rarely--statements from their representatives about the unacceptability of an intervention in Poland's internal affairs by Brezhnev, Honecker, Husak, and Ceausescu? Why are there no major demonstrations of solidarity with the Polish workers? Why are there no demonstrations outside Soviet embassies, letters of protest, and delegations sent to embassies of countries suspected of harboring evil intentions vis-a-vis Poland?

Official statements by politicians and trade unionists cannot fill this gap. One can hear much more clearly the chorus of prophets loudly proclaiming once again "the end of Poland." One can see much more clearly the pens which are already writing about the lessons of 1980 in Poland, while some people are preparing a new interpretation of Sovietism's fundamental immutability. Others write about the Polish workers' aspirations to self-government and others again about the steadfastness of the Christian spirit. But this profound pessimism on the part of the Western public regarding the outcome of the Polish workers' and Polish society's struggle is not the only cause of the apathy of the West, and primarily of its leftwing forces.

But you can see how often the moral heritage of mankind's sensitivity has been dissipated if you recall the history of relations with the USSR, Chile, China, and Cuba and conduct with respect to the Hungarian repression and the Czechoslovak intervention: It is not difficult to see that major movements of solidarity have occurred when, as a result of many complex historical and psychological factors, reality has been replaced by a utopia which was mistaken for reality. This is the history of a large proportion of the left with regard to the USSR when the latter was a vast unknown of history. A hodgepodge of nations and classes. It is the history of a sector of the left and of its relations with the Chinese cultural revolution, the history of the Cuban myth.

How many wasted noble sentiments there are in this history, how many illusions that concealed reality.

These movements did not give much to those who fell under the bullying of Soviet or Pinochet's police thugs. Perhaps only a little encouragement to the humiliated, though this is very important. The feeling that they are not alone: perhaps this is what provokes the police thugs' anger because this movement remembers them, but unfortunately how quickly such movements die, swept away by other tragedies in our world, remaining only as a memory of the massacre carried out.

The Polish workers' struggles fascinate the Western public, which sees in them something like David's fight with Goliath, the Polish workers versus the Soviet empire. Following the tragic experiences in Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Afghanistan, when it seemed that it was a sufficient sign that in the camp of the Soviet empire nothing is impossible, that nations that have entered its sphere of domination are deprived of history forever--at that moment the Polish workers revealed this system's weakness.

For the first time in history the Polish workers have fulfilled the workers' movement's ancient dream of the strike as a weapon for modifying the social system without resorting to force and have revealed the real nature of the Soviet power system. But the Polish workers, with their responsible demands and their desire to secure a more decent standard of living while at the same time taking into account the geopolitical restrictions, cannot provide an encouragement for a new utopia. They do not provide the recipe for building a new ideal society of the future. On the contrary, they are demanding rights which in democratic countries are part of the store of long-realized social gains--the right to strike, to form trade unions, and so forth.

Furthermore, the Polish workers' movement has certain disturbing characteristics for the western left--for instance, its attitude to religion and the Church. For the secular left and even for many Christians educated in the modern Western state, it is a very regrettable aspect of this movement. How many times they have compared Poland with Iran, with greater or lesser tolerance. Obviously, everyone knew that Poland is a country of believers where the majority consider themselves Catholics, but even this is not enough to explain why the Pope's portrait embellished the gates of the Gdansk shipyard, why Lech Walesa clutched his rosary while signing the agreement with the deputy prime minister or why trade union activists so ostentatiously demonstrate their religious feelings. To understand this phenomenon it is necessary to realize what has happened in a Communist country to the language of the workers' movement, whose absence greatly disturbs Poland's sympathizers. This language has been placed under State control, like all political life, and has become one of the strongest tools of the abuse of power: concepts such as capitalism, socialism, working class, class struggle, or bourgeoisie have become elements in the official language of those in power--a dead and rigid language, whose task is not to unify people, or to discover their interests and desires, but to divide, to make it impossible for a mass awareness to form. The task of this language of falseness, as is the language of the trade unions, was to control people. So there is nothing strange in the fact that all social groups have turned against the authorities, in an attempt to rebuild society against the Soviet state, and have used real language and not the tainted language used by propaganda, language that is not manipulated and as it is spoken, whether wisely or foolishly, whether in a refined or a simple manner--but always honestly and to talk about mankind's real problems, the meaning of life and death, duties and rights, individuals and their neighbors--in short, the language of the Church and its symbolism.

It is undoubtedly a paradoxical fact that the class awareness of the modern proletariat--which has been formed gradually by the language of the 19th century left and, therefore, also the language of Marxism--here in Poland can only be formed in opposition to the language which has become nationalized over the past 35 years. Irrespective of the language in each case, in both East and West there are the same aspirations: the desire for dignity and autonomy and the revolt against injustice. Therefore, John Paul II's portrait on the Gdansk gates expresses the same profound aspirations as Marx's portrait hung outside the Fiat factory in Turin.

It is, therefore, essential that there be an immediate mobilization of the Italian working class, the entire Italian left and the entire public against the threat looming over Poland. It is frightening that the desire to create independent trade unions has brought the threat of war to Central Europe. But it is not only the Polish people's desires and interests that are at stake here: like it or not, the Polish issue is your problem too, let nobody pretend otherwise. If there is a war on the Polish nation, war in the heart of Europe, everyone will feel its consequences.

An intervention in Poland will not be so easy to carry out, by submerging it beneath mass indifference, as happened with Afghanistan. Europe will be the first to keenly feel the consequences of such an intervention, on all planes. Europe will be the area hardest hit by the return of the cold war, with the militarization of the economy and political life and the USSR's increased isolation. Within the context of this hypothetical war, precisely, the Left will most keenly feel the consequences of the USSR's aggression against Polish society. So, before it is too late, there must be a mobilization of all men of good will in Poland's defense, shoulder to shoulder with the Poles--a mobilization not only against a possible military intervention but right now against an intervention which is taking place every day, starting with the psychological war being waged by the Soviet Union, which has been stepped up considerably in recent weeks, and against the various form of pressure being exerted on Poland. It is necessary to mobilize right away, because if you begin to demonstrate your solidarity with Poland too late, this time you will have no excuse. You will have had long warning that the Soviet Union is prepared for an intervention.

CSO: 3104



SOLIDARITY PRINTERS INVITED BY SWEDISH UNION

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 13 Dec 80 p 22

[Text] A group of Polish printers has been invited by the Printers Union to visit Sweden at the beginning of 1981. One of the purposes of the visit would be to study Swedish printing methods.

The printers, who belong to the free Polish trade union movement, have given a preliminary affirmative answer to the invitation. This was stated by Ture Mattsson, ombudsman for the Printers' Union, who just returned from a trip throughout Poland. Mattsson and two colleagues had been invited by Solidarity in order to assist the printers in getting the printing activity started.

So far the internal information distribution has functioned very poorly. According to Mattsson the main reason is the lack of coordination, but also the lack of proper printing presses and the poor quality paper have been factors.

CSO: 3109

GDANSK-KARLSKRONA FERRY SERVICE HALTED

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 17 Dec 80 p 8

[Text] The ferry connection between Karlskrona and Gdansk, the Polish Ocean Line [PLO] is to be suspended. The Polish shipper believes it is unable to continue the traffic, and cites the internal political situation. The last ferry will depart on 5 January. What will happen with the Nynashamn-Gdansk line is not clear.

The Polish Ocean Line's four employees onshore in Karlskrona have been warned of termination. The suspension also concerns immigration police and customs personnel.

The Polish personnel onboard the ferries have protested the termination of the line to the shipping firm and the ministry in Warsaw.

"The PLO shipping firm has recently received new directors, and the old directors have been on extended vacations," said municipal official Bernth Johansson in Karlskrona.

The Polish Ocean Line's executive director Per-Axel Fridolfsson and Johansson met last week with the directors of the Polish shipper. The Swedes got the impression that the Poles did not want any Western tourists in Poland right now.

The Polish Ocean Line has operated regular traffic for a year. A while ago it expanded it from one to two trips a week.

CSO: 3109

## CRITICISM OF INTERNATIONAL LAW ASSOCIATION CONFERENCE

Bucharest REVISTA ROMANA DE STUDII INTERNATIONALE in Romanian No 1, Jan-Feb 81  
pp 67-68

[Article by Alexandru Bolintineanu: "The 59th Conference of the International Law Association -- Belgrade, 18-23 August 1980"]

[Excerpts] The 59th conference of the International Law Association served as an occasion for a broad exchange of opinions among a large number of jurists (professors, researchers, judges, etc from 41 countries) permitting the comparison, on a scientific level, of their views in the area of public and private international law.

Unfortunately, instead of concentrating all their efforts on the examination of international cooperation in the field of human rights within a global, unitary and indivisible system and on the study of the major aspects of this subject, the participants had to give most of their attention to the draft of the minimum procedural regulations for international missions of inquiry in the area of human rights.

During the conference, the new, innovative tendencies, aiming at the elaboration of new norms and principles of international law, in accordance with the demands of all peoples and with the building of a new world system and the abolition of the old institutions, contrary to these demands, clashed with conservative tendencies, tendencies to maintain the obsolete institutions. We note, also, the continuing omission from the concerns of the association of subjects connected with the maintaining of peace and international security, with the peaceful resolution of conflicts among states, with the fundamental rights and obligations of states and other major themes of contemporary international law.

The more consistent orientation of the efforts of the International Law Association in the directions mentioned above could be stimulated by a broader participation of jurists from the developing countries--poorly represented at the conference, with the exception of a few countries from Asia and Latin America. Such a participation would create greater receptivity on the part of the association and of its leadership to the requirement for the innovative development of contemporary international law, and to the need for increasing its contribution to the promotion of peace, progress and well-being for all nations and to the solution of the great problems of the contemporary world.

## SHORTCOMINGS IN GEOGRAPHIC RESEARCH, PUBLICATIONS

Bucharest *NRA SOCIALISTA* in Romanian No 3, 5 Feb 61 pp 17-20

[Article] by Univ Prof Dr Vasile Cucu: "New Orientations in the Geographical Sciences"

[Text] The evolution of geographical thought in Romania exhibits the tendency to orient the research in this field as much as possible in the directions required by social practice. Under the conditions of the scientific and technical revolution, the concerns of geographical research go considerably beyond the aggregate of the natural processes and phenomena. The natural, economic and demographic structures—structures in a close interpenetration and interdependence—constitute geographical research's basic object. Consequently, penetrating deeply into material and human reality, geography participates, along with other sciences, in the preparation of forecasts, as well as in the concrete attainment of the objectives of general economic and social development or that in territorial form.

Such a social involvement of geographical research is now acquiring new forms, due to the rapid rates of economic growth and the increasing intensity of the effects that mankind has on the planetary coverings and, in general, on the environment's components. It should be borne in mind, for example, that 56 percent of the land area, 13 percent of the output of flowing water and about 50 percent of the annual growth of forests have come to be exploited. In order to carry out economic activities, man extracts annually from the depths of the earth over 100 billion tons of ore and construction materials, burns 8 billion tons of conventional fuel, throws into the circuit of waters 600 billion tons of industrial and domestic waste and smelts over 800 million tons of various metals. Farmland receives about 400 million tons of mineral fertilizer and over 4 million tons of herbicide. About 20 billion tons of carbon dioxide and over 1 billion tons of other chemical substances are discharged into the atmosphere.

Such data, even expressed concisely, demonstrate that man has become a transforming force on a planetary scale, exerting more and more intensely his influence on the mechanisms of all natural processes. His penetration into the depths of these processes has repercussions on the balance of nature, which has resulted from its self-development over millions of years—there occurring, in some cases, the widening of the gap between nature's potential capacity and society's greater and greater



requirements. In recent decades, the economic and social counterpart of this gap, a consequence of the capitalist mode of production based on the obtaining of the maximum profit in as short a time as possible, thus on the rapacious exploitation of natural resources, has been manifested in the energy and raw-materials crisis, in the food crisis under the conditions of the demographic explosion, these becoming global problems of mankind.

In the face of such problems that are raised on a planetary scale, geography becomes obligated to remodel fundamentally some of its theoretical concepts and positions, asserting itself, at the same time, as an experimental science with transforming and predictive possibilities. Consequently, the body of economic and social problems, accentuated by the scientific and technical revolution, requires the widening of the spectrum of phenomena studied by geography and even the modification of the character of geographical disciplines known for their predominantly naturalistic makeup.

Another high topical element consists of the orientation of geographical research toward knowing as thoroughly as possible the interdependences that exist between the systems situated on a macro- or microterritorial level—in order to distinguish the role of the social factors, of the production forces or of the character of the economic and social organization in relation to the geographical systems. The mutual connection between the three structures or systems substantiates the content of what is called the "concept of geosystem."

The geosystem thus involves the combining of all elements of the natural system, of the economic sphere and of the demographic one (in the sense of human geography—that is, population and settlements) into a single whole, rigorously delimited territorially, there thus being brought out geography's practical, social character, its role in distinguishing and studying material and human conditions and resources, the influence of production on nature's components or phenomena. In this spirit, within the geographical sciences, branches like geography of resources, economic climatology, economic pedology, bioeconomic geography, geography of tourism, space organization and arrangement, and so on are asserting themselves more and more of late. At the same time, the geographical disciplines are acquiring a more profound economic and social character by including in their sphere of study, in a new view, tertiary activities (services, science, culture and so on), primary and even secondary ones.

It is natural for the geographical sciences to be oriented toward the territorial whole, as well as toward types of territorial units, of geographical zones—that is, toward types of geosystems. Because scientific research performed according to types of geosystems offers the possibility of determining more exactly the basic processes that condition the relationships between nature and society on a macro- or microterritorial level, over a well-delimited territory, with the distinguishing of the relations of interaction, of the ways, laws and forms of these relations.

Only on such an approach is it possible to base a forecast referring to the evolution of the environment's component elements under the influence of economic, social and demographic development, and vice versa.

#### The Imperative of Social Integration

Before geography, as well as other sciences whose field of concerns includes major aspects of the Terra global system, there are raised problems of overwhelming

importance—with mankind's actions and interventions acquiring planetary dimensions with a long reach in time, which are hard to evaluate from the viewpoint of the consequences, of the changes produced in nature's components. Under such conditions, the social reality of the era requires of geography a suitable adaptation that is as efficient as possible, sometimes in a quite short time, for taking up on the fly and promptly solving the various problems. This requires from the geographical researchers a certain flexibility, as well as a comprehensive general view and, at the same time, a profound understanding of the phenomena.

At present, our geographical school possesses forces capable of approaching the entire complexity of the phenomena that characterize the social reality in Romania. It is the beneficiary of a rich tradition, succeeding in asserting itself, since the end of the past century, as a science in the service of the major interests of the country. The entire research and educational activity performed by valuable contingents of geographical specialists rests on its theoretical foundations, springing from the scientific, creative assumption of the dialectical- and historical-materialistic view. Works of synthesis like "Atlasul Geografic al RSR" [The Geographical Atlas of the Socialist Republic of Romania] and regional studies like "Monografia Geografica a Romaniei" [The Geographical Monograph of Romania] or "Geografia Vail Dunarii Romanesti" [The Geography of the Valley of the Romanian Danube] reflect the concerns of the geographical researchers for thoroughly studying the problems raised by social practice in our country. Various other studies and research are also in progress, including also those connected with the preparation of basic works, such as "Tratatul de Geografie a RSR" [The Treatise of Geography of the Socialist Republic of Romania] (in six volumes), the series of "Dictionare ale Judetelor RSR" [Dictionaries of the Counties of the Socialist Republic of Romania], the study "Modernizarea si Urbanizarea Asezarilor Rurale din Romania" [The Modernization and Urbanization of Rural Settlements in Romania] and so on.

However, examining more closely this research activity performed on a rather wide front of geographical knowledge, one can state that, in some cases, it is possible to encounter tendencies to approach and perform research in an "atomistic" traditional manner, in the sense of breaking the whole into its component parts and analyzing it apart from the general connections. As a rule, such a way of working in research leads to a unilateral evaluation of the development of the phenomena and especially of the operation of the geographical systems. In fact, it is a question of persevering in the utilization of the classic methods of research in geography, which partly has its explanation in the predominantly naturalistic view in which some of our researchers were trained in past decades, but also in the convenience of limiting the activity to what is long since known—in other words, of taking "beaten paths."

This is precisely why the results of some researchers, even with long years of experience, stay at the same level, their work being limited to the application of methods used decades ago, methods that can no longer satisfy either theoretically or practically the current requirements in geographical research. Courage in approaching the new, in giving up the classic, descriptive-annalistic style of research on reality is necessary under the conditions in which social practice calls for attractive options and for responsibility.

Confrontations of opinions in an organized form, discussions centered around problems of the most topical sort—discussions held in an atmosphere of work, free of

manifestations of formalism or festiveness that are still encountered in some theoretical discussions or annual sessions of scientific papers—are necessary in order to eliminate such shortcomings.

An important role in improving the methodology of geographical research goes to the training of researchers and teaching personnel by means of the doctoral program. Besides the good results obtained in this direction, the cases in which the efficiency of the doctoral works remains debatable are not few. Because many of such works are devoted to restricted territories, delimited mainly according to external, scenic criteria, of which a monographic description with an encyclopedic character is made, they thus not having a social and economic finalization or an instructional utility. Not to mention that the doctoral works (theses) are known, most of the time, only by the few reviewers and, of course, by the representatives of the higher diploma commission. However, precisely these kinds of works, resulting from an activity of original research, should be promoters of the latest methods of geographical investigation, as in any other field.

However, not only the doctoral theses but also the various works released by publishing houses could contribute more to renovating the geographical view and methodology in close connection with social practice's requirements. In general, regarding the publishing output in the field of geography, the need is felt for a greater thematic diversity and an increase in the promptness in publishing the books, there being abandoned mammoth volumes, which are very costly and which often overburden the bookshops.

For years on end, the Stiintifica si Enciclopedica Publishing House was the most productive one in the field of the geography book. Recently, however, due in part also to the lack of organized ties with the Institute of Geography and the institutions of higher learning, its contribution to promoting the new directions in geography and geographic methodology has become insignificant. It may be necessary for all the publishing houses, regardless of their specialty, to correlate their activity with that of the research and educational units, as the Publishing House of the Academy and the Didactica si Pedagogica Publishing House are doing to a considerable extent. Only under such conditions will the production of scientific books be able to reflect the real concerns of scientific research, helping to promote the new.

The social involvement of the geographical sciences is also achieved by means of schoolbooks. It can be asserted that, in recent years, the preparation of geography textbooks has followed a rising course, generated largely also by the substantial changes occurring in the structure and the position of the geographical disciplines in the curricula. Quantitatively, the results can be considered satisfactory. Qualitatively, however, they are debatable. For example, three types of "Geografia Patriei" [The Homeland's Geography] textbooks alternated in past years, there finally being adopted a "synthesis-textbook" that nevertheless cannot be of a nature to satisfy the requirements for a modern geographical education. Informative material about the geographical units of the country or simple statistical and economic information, which cannot ensure the formation in pupils of geographical thought based on logical correlations and interdependences, predominate in the "Geografia Patriei" textbooks for the 4th and 8th grades, as well as the 12th grade. Such structural deficiencies in the schoolbooks are reflected especially in the level of the written work in the competitive examinations for admission to higher education.



Consequently, a better correspondence between the content of school geography and that of geography as a science is necessary. The tendencies toward inertia in this regard are also manifested in the insufficient concern for including in school new directions in geography with a high applicative potential, such as geography of resources, of services, urban and rural geography, not to mention geographical cartography, a totally deficient field. In this regard, there must be in geography textbooks a more concrete reflection of the new directions in economic and social development—especially in territorial form, on a national level, as well as a world level—and of the new orientations and achievements in geographical research.

The requirement of abandoning beaten paths is also valid in the case of preparing the synthetic geographical studies, of rethinking the content of some basic works in progress. For instance, a work of vast proportions such as "Tratatul de Geografie a Romaniei" [The Treatise of Geography of Romania] should go beyond the stage of voluminous informative and descriptive syntheses about our country. Besides this, in my opinion, it may be necessary for it to respond to very current trends and orientations in Romanian and world geography, such as geographical forecasting, geography of resources, environmental protection and improvement, space organization, urbanization and modernization of human settlements, geographical cartography and so on.

The symptoms of conventionalism, of the descriptive approach in geographical thought are also favored by the specialized periodical publications, which exhibit a predilection for study-articles with a determinative character, devoted to minor aspects, without a sufficient involvement in observing and analyzing the most topical social problems.

#### A Wider View on Nature-Society Relationships

The elimination of the lags along the front of the geographical sciences is, of course, strongly conditioned by the training of the body of geographers in the system of higher education, as well as by the way in which geographical research is viewed within the framework of social control.

In connection with the training of geographers, I feel that the current structuring of the specialized faculties, in the form of "geography—a foreign language," was really necessary and suited to a certain stage, a stage that is nonetheless now categorically past. In order for the geographical specialists to respond with competence and efficiency to the major current and future problems, I feel that it is necessary to give them a makeup with more marked applicative possibilities, such as "geography-space organization," "geography-economics," "geography-environmental protection," "geography-tourism" and so on. Likewise, geographical research's orientation and makeup could be reconsidered.

We have an institute of geography integrated into the Faculty of Geology and Geography at the University of Bucharest. It is a well-delineated and efficient place. But we are now in a stage of economic and social development in which the problems of the environment's quality, of its protection and conservation, of the organization and arrangement of the territory and the localities require much more concretization and participation. It would thus be natural for the institute to which we referred to have a makeup corresponding to the current problems, which would help to eliminate the traditionalistic view—like the one mentioned earlier—in geographical thought and research, as well as to more actively involve this science in dealing



with urgent requirements. In consequence, it would be necessary for the present institute "of geography" to acquire a complex makeup, so that its functional structure corresponds to immediate practical requirements (an institute of geography, space organization and environmental protection). In such an institute, problems of environmental quality and space organization, which are so topical, would find their solution, there being widened at the same time the view on the whole set of problems regarding the relationships between nature and society.

The above considerations are based on the finding that the aggregate of the problems of the interaction between society and nature, under the conditions of the scientific and technical revolution, is--no matter how paradoxical this may seem--still insufficiently substantiated from a theoretical viewpoint, although these problems, among which the influence exerted by society's economic activity on the environment occupies a priority place, are in the center of the attention of many sciences. The true causes of the negative influence of physical and chemical factors on natural ecosystems, as well as the forecasting of the environment's "backlash" to anthropogenic intervention, the admissible limit of this intervention in order to obtain an optimum equilibrium between the necessity of environmental protection and that of intensive utilization of resources--all these things are still approached too slightly by the geographical sciences, as well as other sciences. The consequences of this situation come to light especially in the achievement of big technical projects, like hydroelectric power systems, drainage and so on, in the cases in which, besides the positive results anticipated, unpleasant surprises (excessive pollution, the intensification of natural processes, like soil erosion, salinization or swamping, the silting of storage lakes, the deterioration of forest resources, the reduction of piscicultural potential), which require the execution of unforeseen extra work at great expense, appear later.

In order to prepare well-substantiated forecasts, there must be as comprehensive a fund of information as possible, achieved on the basis of the most modern and efficient means of observation and analysis, regarding the current state of the environment, within whose limits the big projects for changing it are to be achieved, and regarding the possible consequences of the aggregate of these changes produced by the development of industry, agriculture, transportation and so on.

By its very character as a science of natural, economic and geodemographic territorial structures, geography possesses many bridges of connection with other sciences that participate in studying the earth from various angles. In this regard, there must be more active collaboration by the geographers with the specialists in other institutes with a tangential specialty.

#### Basic Directions of Geographical Research

The profound social integration of geography is the only means by which it is possible to ensure the humanization of its various disciplines with a naturalistic makeup, as well as the avoidance of tendencies toward gratuitous modernism.

A system of thought and practical action based on the profound analysis of the present realities, as well as of the requirements for future development, with the extremely strong involvement of all scientific research, stands out strikingly in the programmatic documents of the 12th party congress. The requirements for the harmonious, balanced development of all zones and localities, for the continual growth of

material production and economic efficiency, for the better utilization and the economization of resources are necessities with deep social implications, which dimension, in fact, geographical research's spheres of action.

In the resolution of the 12th Congress of the Romanian Communist Party it says: "The congress approves the Program for Economic and Social Development of Romania in Territorial Form in the 1981-1985 Period, which provides the necessary framework for the balanced placement of the production forces on the territory, the better utilization of the material and labor resources existing in each zone, the convergence of the counties with regard to the level of gross output and the use of labor resources, the systematization and modernization of the network of cities and communes." A new, superior view on geographical space and its functions is drawn from this.

The basic spatial units at whose level complex economic and social analyses are achieved are the counties, cities and communes. In view of the role that the counties, cities and communes have as territorial, administrative and political formations with various natural, social and economic structures, it is necessary that geographical space itself be understood in a much more concrete, better-dimensioned sense than by means of the physical forms, of one rank or another, encountered in various zones.

In the sense of the orientations established by our party, geographical space is thus regarded as an objective reality that functions as an open, dynamic system, generating a continual exchange with the outside, in accordance with the necessities of its internal circulation and organization. Geographical space is a natural product of human activity. It is part of society's overall organization, thus being perfectible in accordance with its needs and goals. From this come the basis objectives that confront geography as a science with a practical character to a high degree.

Under the conditions of the current economic and social development in territorial form, it is thus necessary to orient geography toward the practical actions of planning the production forces at a level of the commune, the city, the county, the economy as a whole. In this way, geography as a science acquires social possibilities by means of the contribution that it makes to the development of the methodological basis of planning, to the scientific substantiation of the policy of economic and social planning in territorial form, to a better utilization of space—thus providing greater efficiency in developing the economy and the achievement of rational proportions of growth in territorial form, on the basis of the complex evaluation of the natural resources, of the economic and social ones in all zones of the country.

The new view on geographical space is closely connected with the provisions established by the 12th party congress in reference to increasing the economic and social role of the small and middle-sized cities in the general development of the country, provisions that outline an original urban strategy. Socialist industrialization at constant rates has caused, naturally, profound changes in the economic foundation and the demographic structure of all categories of cities, has generated strong economic and social ties between them and the surrounding zones or their sphere of influence. Such territorial "welds" lead, objectively, to a certain economic and social hierarchization of the urban centers, giving rise, at the same time, to a

certain orientation in the future evolution of each category of cities. In this way, the tendencies toward hypertrophy, as well as those toward hypotrophy of the localities, are avoided—with the growth of the economic and social role of the small and middle-sized cities providing clear prospects in the evolution of the process of urbanization, in the harmonious development of all zones of the country.

The numerical growth of the population and the raising of the quality of life are foremost realities that orient the whole view on general economic social development, including in territorial form. In the speech at the opening of the proceedings of the World Population Congress, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out that "in approaching the problem of population it is necessary to start from the fact that man constitutes the decisive factor in economic and social progress." Indeed, population does represent the essential element in the progress, vitality and production force of society—in the final analysis, the supreme goal of and reason for any activity.

The basic concepts and the methodology of the geographical sciences must be changed in accordance with this. Because, under the new conditions, geography can no longer be limited just to descriptions of beautiful landscapes or to the relating of travels. Today, geography's basic orientation must be research on the complex of factors that determine or influence the appearance of the various zones, regions, countries or continents, including in its sphere of study the optimization of the utilization of natural resources, of the natural, economic and social territorial structures—in order to achieve, in the final analysis, the devising of the theory of the transformation and guidance of the environment in the interest of man's existence and development.

Having such an orientation and starting from the tasks that confront all scientific research in the new five-year period, the geographers have the duty to put in the forefront of their activity the attribute of the high responsibility of contributing to the utilization of economic and social potential, of all national wealth to the utmost.

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## MAJOR'S CRITICISMS DRAW REJOINDERS FROM YOUTH JOURNALS

## Editorial Note

Belgrade OMLADINSKE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian 17 Jan 81 p11

[Text] The interview with Bora Cosic, which we published under the title "The Artist must be Independent" in October, served Nandor Major as an illustration of the critical opposition activity of this writer. Here we are publishing parts of the text from BORBA and Bora Cosic's letter.

It is apparent that Nandor Major's comments about current ideological and political trends in Yugoslav culture, which was printed by BORBA in 5 installments in the middle of last month, have aroused great interest among cultural workers and the broad public.

Two issues ago, our newspaper published an article in which we expressed our disagreement with the manner in which Nandor Major had criticised the Zagreb youth organization for giving the "Seven League of Communist Youth of Yugoslavia Secretaries" award for musical creativity to the Ljubljana rock group "Pankrti (the Bastards)." Just as that text did not mean we were enthusiastic about the music being created by the boys from Ljubljana, in the same way our selecting of just this part of the lengthy text from BORBA did not indicate our agreement with all the other positions of Nandor Major.

Recently we received a letter from the writer Bora Cosic. Attentive readers certainly remember that we published an interview with this writer, under the title "The Artist Must be Independent," in the 19 October issue. That was Bora Cosic's first interview in 5 years. Nandor Major cites precisely that interview several times, showing the opposition critical activity of this writer.

We have decided to publish part of Nandor Major's commentary, where it relates to literature, and Bora Cosic's letter, for the following reasons:

1. We feel an obligation to our commentator and believe that he must receive the opportunity to defend himself regarding the statements in this newspaper

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2. We have re-read the interview in question carefully again, and nowhere have we found the malicious intentions of Bora Cosic to, as Nandor Major states, turn the young generation of film artists against the policies of the League of Communists and this society.

3. We do not know the criteria that have been used to proclaim Bora Cosic as an "opposition element." Until that is established, the editorial board of this newspaper will continue to be firmly convinced that the pages of OMLADINSKE NOVINE are closed to all who are opposed to our revolution, to freedom, self-management, socialism, brotherhood and unity.

#### Response from Cosic

Belgrade OMLADINSKE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian 17 Jan 81 p 11

[Letter from the author Bora Cosic]

[Text] In his most recent "piano-tuning" review, of considerable length and great stylistic range, Nandor Major cordially and frequently pointed out to me, in the manner that has become customary for this specialty, what is "left" and what is "right" in our ideological music-making. He noted which instruments can be regarded as suitable, and which in the same way, but just a little less, of our intellectual musical instruments can be left to play as they are playing, which ones await a fundamental and unpostponable tuning, and which ones can only be relegated to the rummage sale and the junk heap. In this first, authorized regard, I did not fare so badly. I am not one of the first group, a melodious and polished violin, but neither am I an ordinary opposition contrabass, from which, instead of any sort of music, there emits a stream of future enemy explosions.

In fact, Nandor Major does not really know what to do with me. For after all, some music is heard from my literary instrument, and there are signs that this music will again be given bouquets and medals by our official literary judges, and it is good that it is so, and if it is not good, then at least we are not totally in favor of locking the gates of our miniature reading palace to keep out this melody. That this has been the case for a number of years, my god, everything can happen, and there are many worse cases. History is full of terrible examples that largely, and fortunately, are not ours, but which are very bad and which it would be very inappropriate to pull out of our personal complaint files.

The misfortune is only in the fact that this esteemed clique of officials, advanced to the ranks of writers of reviews, opinions and conclusions, this thin storming detachment, sacrificed to small disturbances of the peace and simple sorties to concert halls, and which no wise person even during the time of the most current events gave any consideration to, who as good societal types of mortar launchers of bombs at our cultural polygon, did not disintegrate long ago. They changed, not only their bad habits of panting and yelling, but their profession, as they withdrew from the front lines of battle, from the first newspaper columns and the front benches of numerous plenary sessions back into completely non-rectoral, non-evaluative, and non-meritorious holes, from which they had come. It would be hard to recall even their names, although their traces can be found relatively easily in the files of our newspapers.

## The Jawbones of Dialectics

But here is how things stand now, if we leave off the stylistic figures, and try to sift this quasi-dialectical jumble of Nandor Major's to find coherent facts and recognizable circumstances.

Some leaders of our cinematographic "first wave," he states, request reevaluation and reshowing of their works. Where? In the movie halls. To whom? To individuals, to persons, to viewers, to the public of this country. And this after the evaluations that have once been noted down and that can no longer be reevaluated? On what basis do they request this? Bolstered by the fact that some books that were disputed at the beginning of the seventies have been reissued. Who challenged them? Probably some comrades. How did they challenge them? They asserted that they were "in part anti-socialist pamphlets." And how then have they been published now, either in full or in part? In full. What will our dean say about that? the public? And the reviews? They have not been revised, there is no need for that. It appears that we are publishing books that have been perceived to be loathsome pamphlets, and yet we assert that they should be available to the public? In one way or another?

Where then is the fault in their being published again? In the fact that it encourages the leaders of the black wave, who on their part are again striving to push their own films into the movie theaters. How did this uproar begin, these divergences and these various outcomes? In that, organized socialist forces did not deport themselves as best they might. Why not? Because the disputed books of Bora Cosic were reissued, and it seemed to him that thereby the earlier evaluations were revised, but they were not.

What books are those? For example, "The Role of my Family in the World Revolution." Had there been some sort of presentation based on that book? There had been, but it was removed from the repertory after about 100 performances. Why? Because it was decided that it belonged to the numbers of those works that were not in keeping with the spirit of our strivings. And what else? And that it should be included in that list. What list? The list of negatively evaluated plays. Who prepared that list? Some comrades, and by god, an actress from the same presentation refused to sing a song that she had previously sung numerous times, and so another actor in another play did something similar, and a professor of dramatic art praised their actions as true examples of etiquette in the theater. What happened to the film of the same name? It was made, but the producer stated that he had opposed it, and later, when the thing was already produced, he stated that he was opposed to showing it.

So that the producer fought against the exhibiting of his own film? That's right. So the actress fought for the removal from performances of a presentation in which she had performed a 100 times. Well yes. How can that be? That is how the organized socialist forces did not deport themselves as well as they might have.

## A Game of Hide and Seek

What else can be attributed to a writer who, despite the fact that in 1973 his books were declared to be anti-socialist pamphlets, is publishing the same ones again,

and one of his new ones is even receiving an award? That he interferes in the affairs of other writers. Who and how? Here the matter of the Kovac case is raised. What happened in that case? He was awarded a prize, and then it was declared that the prize was not awarded. What does Cosic want regarding that? He ascribes to the League of Communists acts done by individuals, about which the LCY has no comment, and which try to show some people, despite their new, progressively toned books, as being in conflict with the LCY.

And what had BORBA printed on 19 January 1973? In a 6-hour discussion at the previous night's meeting of the Valjevo Assembly communist councilmen's unit, the question of the award to Mirko Kovac's book was raised again. And what else? A resolution was adopted by which the municipal assembly was requested to approve a resolution stating that this award was regarded as not being awarded. Why this now? In the matter, organized socialist forces had not deported themselves in the best manner. But at least they would be able to find their way in the non-dialectical, Major labyrinth. How would they find their path if Nandor Major shoved them into a new syntagma, into a new organizational form in addition to the old ones that are still valid.

Could our cultural situation be transformed into a game of hide and seek? Is it not a fact that in the period involved there were evaluations, decisions and results that were detrimental to our culture and thereafter, to our socialist forces? Is that true or isn't it? If we accept this as the real fact, we can expect an open dialogue that awaits us in the future. If we want to talk, we will have to accept the truth about a time when the actors did not know what was playing, nor the producers what they were producing, until it was subsequently explained to them. Any other interference, rambling and jabber that takes account of the immediate, pragmatic demands of the moment and not of the historically based documentation can experience, and I believe already is experiencing, its defeat by plebescite.

#### Further Criticism of Cosic

Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 31 Jan 81 p 12

[Article by Radivoj Cveticanin]

[Text] In a recent interview to OMLADINSKE NOVINE, the writer Bora Cosic revived the case with the "Milovan Glisic" award, which was given and then withdrawn in Valjevo from Mirko Kovac. Cosic said the following in answering a question about "bans and their criteria." "You know, it can be said that there are difficult and bad examples. If an award is given and then annulled, as in the Kovac case with the "Milovan Glisic" award, ....those are certainly bad things, but I think that they are not of a lasting nature."

That, and some other statements in the interview, provoked rather extensive polemics (which are not the subject here), in which Bora Cosic continued to expand upon his views concerning the Valjevo award to Kovac. In essence, the entire affair boils down to Cosic's opinion that "from 1972 and for several years thereafter, we had a mild form of cultural revolution, regardless of how it might later be evaluated and established.

In the latest number of the magazine IDEJE (No 6-7, 1980) in an interview that was exemplary in many ways, Bara Krivokapic spoke with Mirko Kovac. The text filled some 40 pages, and included comments on the disputed award. Kovac said, "That means nothing, those are all external matters, all recognition and judgement, all superficial manifestations compared to what is happening within me."

Five years after the "Valjevo episode," Kovac polished and published a new edition of "The Wounds of Luka Mestrevic," the book that was the object of the case. Kovac stated, "One of my advisors said, 'Don't correct that book, that way you will only prove to those who attacked you that they were right.' But I am revising this for me, not for them. In any case, the revisions in this book are of an esthetic nature, and they are not subject to the taste of those who faulted me. It is not revised to cater to anyone or to justify its new appearance. Believe me, it is a matter of personal purging."

You, the reader, can best decide who can best sum up an occurrence that took place in Valjevo in 1973, the injured writer Kovac or the uninvolved writer Cosic.

#### Editorial Skepticism

Belgrade MLADOST in Serbo-Croatian 23 Jan 81 p 3

[Article by Zoran Erak]

[Text] The polemics that have been seen in these spaces have revolved around the most diverse things, so as to become practically an unavoidable part of the milieu of the times, regardless of the fact that we often declare that the level of debate not infrequently has descended to the lowest levels of discourse between two (or more) adversaries. When we start to carry on polemics about how to carry on polemics, once again we can often find disqualifying notes of dialogue directed at the opposite opinion. It would be logical to expect that at least in these columns, we would retain the necessary academic tolerance, and particularly that we would be unburdened by the "positions" of the debaters. For it is not rare for a political or some other "firm" hierarchical or similar scale on which the debaters hold a position to have an important role in determining the relationship of the facilitators of the polemics (newspapers, journals and tribunes) toward individual participants in it.

Unfortunately, we cannot particularly praise either the volume or the quality of the polemics that are being aimed at particular political content, all the more so since among individuals they are often regarded as necessities and as possibilities to use an individual with formal authority, in the name of a "forum," to debate some question that they regard as worthy of ideological political analysis and determination in favor of current, daily political action. Here very often difficulties arise, since such presentations of determined positions often retaliate instead of contributing.

A frequent trait of such presentation, that is, of those pronouncements that are supposed to be more or less official reactions to some of our "excesses" or the problems of our daily existence, unfortunately is extreme generalization and the manipulation of undebated evaluations, which for this democratic time are at least



irrational. The question arises as to whether these polemics, with such an approach, are necessary at all and thus politically justified. We think the answer would have to be: no!

For example, the evaluation that recently appeared on several matters of ideological and political trends in the sphere of culture and cultural creativity, as stated by Nandor Major, executive secretary of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee, provoked numerous reactions not only in part of our press (but certainly not in that part that uncritically transmitted such contemplations), but also in the public in general. But some reactions do not make the pages of newspapers, either of those that published "incriminating" reports or those that by nature of their conceptions must have interest in such content. Naturally, we exclude the possibility of a ban on such comments by "official persons," but a number of questions remain.... They are directed first of all at the editorial boards of the newspapers themselves.

In the case in question (the critical review of the awarding of a significant prize to the Ljubljana group "Pankrti (the Bastards)", followed by contemplation about "similar" authors, as well as domestic dissidents"), there have been quite a few comments and assertions -as with an axe,- for it to be absolutely necessary to determine that they came from the pen of Nandor Major, a citizen who has a right to his opinion, along with the assurance that these same assertions can hardly be cloaked in the mantle of some political organization in which citizen Major has an important function. We disregard the fact that individuals can often state that opposing a functionary is most often opposition to a line, to a policy, to a concrete determination of the League of Communists! It is very fortunate that we have passed the time of one-sidedness (monolithic unity) of opinion, and therefore it is not in the least insignificant to note how functionaries come out publicly and how they present and argue for their opinions and assertions. At least from them we must expect that they will be tolerant, clear and trustworthy to the end.

#### Criticism of 'MLADOST'

Belgrade BORBA in Serto-Croatian 31 Jan 81 p 9

[Article signed K. D.]

[Text] Here Zoran Erak has also made his pronouncement on current ideological and political questions of culture with his article "On the occasion," which appeared in MLADOST on 23 January. It turns out that the occasion for this "On the occasion" was the article by Nandor Major in BORBA during December of last year, but also, -obviously- Erak has some other "occasions" in mind.

But since Erak adds his article to the pleas for debate and polemics, it turns out that he is actually right regarding his own text when he asserts that "the level of polemics not infrequently descends to the lowest levels of discourse." That doubtless is where he logically chose to take his title from the popular saying "He who with an axe." For it is just as though with an axe.

The well-intentioned reader would hope that on the occasion of Nandor Major's series of articles, he might hear and read that desired critical word that disputes

the theses and evaluations presented, and presents other, different ones, that are argumentative and cultured, seeking that sought-after dialogue that will help to pose the problems in better relief and move the social and cultural situation forward in a democratic manner. But, alas, in this "On the occasion," there is nothing of that which the writer himself pleads for. Instead, quite a few etiquettes and disqualifications are presented, while Erak himself is most tormented by the fact, as he asserts, that polemics are burdened by a "hierarchical scale," that they contain formulations that have been overcome, that the newspapers have "uncritically transmitted such contemplations" (that is, Nandor Major's series), and particularly that some reactions (to those texts) have not been able to reach the pages of the newspapers (which is not true). And now Erak reveals his secret reflection: he publicly excludes the possibility of a ban by "the officials," but in fact, hopes to suggest that that is what is in question here.

Happily, Zoran, we really have overcome the time of one-sidedness (monolithic unity) of opinion, and in "these spaces of ours" we are not obliged to, as it were, fall into line and think and act according to the recipe of Major's opponents, or the previously mentioned writer in MLADOST. For they are not only bothered by the positions presented in a series of articles in BORBA (although they have fairly fallen upon them), but also by the very fact that a functionary has written and the newspapers have published it. Thus they think and hope that only they have a right to public speech, and so polemics are reserved only for them and for the theses that they aggressively transmit, wrapped, of course in cellophane of "truth," "Democracy," etc.

A man actually becomes somewhat frightened by the democracy and polemic nature that is served up "as with an axe."

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